

# **INTERNATIONAL** **REVIEW** *of contemporary thought & action*

Vol. 1. No. 1.

New York, January 15, 1936

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# OUT OF UNDERGROUND GERMANY

*"Politiken", Copenhagen.*

## Arrests and Corruption

THE Ministry of Propaganda has special bureaux in all the "countries" and provinces of the Reich. The chief for Berlin and Brandenburg, one Herr Schulze-Wachsingen, and his assistant, have just been arrested. Their homes, motor cars and other property have been confiscated in partial reimbursement for their respective embezzlements. The same fate has been reserved for Herr Hadamowski, the chief of the Reich radio emission system. Such instances of arrest and penalty no longer provoke excitement in Germany, where the wide corruption that is the rule now in the branches of public administration, was never known before. In spite of the general misery, or because of it, the moneys of the tax-payers are handled with a criminal carelessness. The continual levies are pretexts for theft, embezzlement or similar unhandsome acts. Whether it is a question of collections for "Winter Aid", or "Assessments of Members of the People's Community", or "Gifts in Behalf of German Blood and Honor",—a day does not pass without the discovery of a new scandal, the authors of which, once unmasked, commit suicide if they have the courage or, more simply, disappear behind the walls of a prison.

The best Nazis, the "purest of the pure", are indignant at such happenings. They whose convictions are more lukewarm regard with envy the manner with which the party functionaries take advantage of their positions. There is no doubt that in spite of the reprobations and the accusations of corruption that have been thrown at the Republic of Weimar, the customs of the latter were truly Spartan compared with those of the Third Reich. This corruption is so general, it is so deeply rooted, that to combat it a new 30th of June will not be out of place. There is talk of such a step. It is expected. Outstanding party personalities demand it. It remains to be seen if these worthies are prompted by a sincere nostalgia of propriety, or if they merely plan to hide their own little affairs behind the screen of public indignation.

## People See Through the Nazi Racket

But it must not be believed that the discontented and hungry masses, especially in the large cities, still allow themselves to be deluded by the spectacular shows of the Nazi regime. One frequently hears remarks that the cost of such a festivity, or such a public spectacle would have been more usefully employed to feed the people. If it is true that thousands of Nazis came to the sumptuous wedding of General Goering, there is no doubt that the number of those who permitted themselves sarcastic comments on the sudden financial rise of that valiant warrior was no less great.

Only the naive in the Reich are yet unaware that Nazism is above all a "racket". The shameful "Stuermer", Streicher's publication, which under the guise of anti-Semitism retails pornography that has never been equalled, is plainly a "racket". So are all the other concerns that publish books and periodicals under the control of the various vice-fuehrers and "leiters". Around the latter gather cohorts of profiteers and other parasites ready to do anything to bolster up the regime.

*The temporary dearth of certain foodstuffs obliges housewives to stand in line in front of stores. Will our people, however, lose its traditional sense of humor because of a little inconvenience? Come on, fellow countrywomen, take it with good grace. The German people has such great resources of humor that it finds even in the need of standing in line an occasion for laughter. . .* "Der Angriff", Berlin.

With the single aim of combatting this corruption and without occupying themselves with any political program, numerous secret associations have been formed all over the country. In order to escape more easily police surveillance and Nazi spying, these associations have adopted the "cell" form of organization. The connections among these bodies are vague. The authorities have been seeking the leading spirits but without success up to now. In spite of all the more or less false denunciations, in spite of the rewards offered by the Gestapo, which is so generous to traitors, this organization, popularly referred to as "Underground Germany" has escaped the police of the Third Reich almost completely.

## "The Front of Honest Germans"

More than the Marxist groups, the Nazi regime fears the quiet, indefatigable, intelligent and methodic activity of the "Front of Honest Germans", a name that contrasted to Nazism speaks for itself. This "Front of Honest Germans" is a new Tugendbund. It attracts the worthiest and best elements in Germany today. It would be unwise of us to furnish more exact information about the "front". It is enough to say that if there is still hope for Germany it is due to the secret and unceasing activity of this organization, which is vast, invisible, and includes many former "Stahlhelmer", centrists, radicals and other elements of the bourgeoisie—industrials, merchants, bank employes and intellectuals. The "Front of Honest Germans" publishes a great number of papers, appearing on a single large page. These papers are not printed but polygraphed. In general the "underground press" does not make use of printing presses. . .

It is certain that many important posts in the Nazi party, in Berlin as well as in the provinces, are occupied by former socialists and communists who remain true to their former convictions. That is well known in the Reichswehr, and for this reason, the military chiefs do not want S. A. formations.

The S. S. are found more reliable. They remain the real pretorian guard of the regime, while the confidence placed in the S. A. is so small that every evening, before they are permitted to return to their homes, the "troopers" are deprived of all arms or tools which they use during the day in their exercises or work duties. . .

*Translated by F. N.*

## ZYROMSKI:

### Conditions for Organic Unity of Communist and Socialist Parties of France

*Speech reported by "Populaire", Paris.*

"NO serious obstacle blocks the way to the realization of your desire, a single party of the proletariat."

And Jean Zyromski indicated the considerable number of principles that both parties had in common:

"We are all partisans of the socialization of the means of production and distribution—a revolutionary measure that has nothing to do with nationalization, government control and other authoritarian means of administration.

"We agree on the need of struggle to take power, on the need of grouping ourselves in a single party and also on the nature of the party. It must be a party of the proletariat.

"We agree on the necessity of a passage from capitalism to socialism through the conquest of total power by the working class."

Zyromski dealt with the transitory period. During that period, he said, the State had to be entirely in the hands of the working class—as long as the revolution was not entirely secure.



## What is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

He said it was impossible to determine in advance what would be the form and manner of functioning of this dictatorship. "Every revolution has its particular form." It was idle to attempt to establish beforehand, in a detailed manner, what mechanism a revolution should use.

In any case, the real proletarian dictatorship will have a direct, broad, vivifying contact with the wide worker masses. Any other conception is a shameful mutilation of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"For us, the dictatorship of the proletariat is a road leading to true democracy, to a classless society."

## The Russian Revolution and the S. P. F.

Zyromski then defined our (French socialist) position on the Russian Revolution. We are attached to the Russian Revolution because it overthrew despotism and abolished the regime of the big landowners and capitalists.

Zyromski repeated the words of Jules Guesde: "We shall always mount guard over it."

Already in 1919 the French socialists stood guard over the Soviet Union.

"When we say this, we make no concession. Though no humiliation is attached to concessions made for the sake of unity.

"However, it is impossible for us to include in the Pact of Unity the idea of the infallibility of the Russian Revolution.

"We want to continue our investigations. We want to learn, for example, if the distribution of the surplus-value in the U. S. S. R. is always in total conformity with the interests of the Russian working class."

## The Coming War and "Revolutionary Defence".

"The coming on the scene of the Russian Revolution has created the notion of 'revolutionary defence'.

"It is necessary. But", noted Zyromski, "not in a capitalist country. In no case do we want a Holy Alliance, a National Union. Our aim should always be the taking of power by the working class.

"At any rate, the International—the one World International, which we should do our utmost to bring about—ought to be supreme arbiter of the situation in time of war as well as in time of peace."

## The Problem of Party Structure

The speaker then considered the likely structure of the unified party.

"We, socialists, use the territorial base. We have sections and federations. You, communists, use the trade base: cells and districts. In both parties there is wide criticism of the existing manner of organization."

Zyromski expressed the hope that it would be possible to effect a synthesis of the two forms—and safeguard at the same time the independence of French trade unionism.

"A formula should be found that would permit free discussion in the party and strict discipline in public action. . .

"Unity will not come if one party tries to swallow the other. It will come if each party, proud of its tradition, brings its best building material to the edifice that is to be constructed."

CAN LA ROCQUE  
SEIZE POWER?

• Emmanuel Berle

*From "Marianne", Paris.*

THE leagues know they are hated. They know that if France were allowed to vote their ruse would be apparent. Therefore their friends no longer talk of persuasion and union; they say: "It is a matter of Strength". Translate: "It is a question of Violence".

Their worst risk is that the extreme Right, as formerly the extreme Left, is disposed to distinguish between strength—which they respect—and numbers—which they despise. The Trotzkyites used to say: "It matters not if we are a weak minority provided, when the time is ripe, we can succeed with a coup de main". By some unbelievable aberration the conservative Right, intoxicated with neo-Bonapartism, begins to use the same language. The day after July 14 last, the entire reactionary press wrote: "The mob at the Bastille was much more important, but the military value of the Croix de Feu seems much greater." One journalist, à propos of the vast crowd marching through the Faubourg Saint Antoine went so far as to write: "A few thousand Croix de Feu could sweep away this rabble".

I warn them dispassionately, without hatred, without indignation: they are mistaken. In our country, politically divided but humanly united, there does not exist, on one hand, a military caste, and on the other hand, an artisans' caste. Military value is the same in all sections of our population. Every old soldier knows it. Previous to 1914 it was customary to represent the bourgeoisie as rotten, and to lay stress on the physical strength of the proletariat. Since 1919, with a change of view which is becoming comical, it is now said, and even believed, that the young bourgeois of the 16th and 18th Districts, because they play tennis and practice nudism on the beaches, are more redoubtable fighters than the butchers of La Villette, the strong men of the Halle, or the bargemen of the Saint-Martin Canal. This is an exaggeration. The bourgeois of 1935 are not, in comparison with laborers, like the feudal barons compared with the peasants. Conscription made all Frenchmen soldiers—as the Revolution made them all citizens. There is no difference in human value between the bourgeois and the masses. Any difference in fighting capacity could be due only to difference of fighting equipment. An aristocracy founded on the possession of arms, which, in the last analysis, means on money, would impose its will on the masses, who are prevented by toil and poverty from getting together one day at Limoges and the next at Dunkerque—because they have not the price of automobiles and they must earn their living.

The distinction between "legal country" and "real country" comes close to the distinction between those Frenchmen who own machine guns and those who do not. The real country would be, in fact, not its upholders but the armaments of the leagues—the legal country being the masses of the people, unable to defend themselves the moment the State betrays them. That is why we see the people getting more and more restless, more and more rebellious, more and more eager for reassurance. They must be reassured. Nations of today will not support tyrannical minorities because they must be perpetually opposing sections of their total strength against each other. Mr. Hitler did not dare to take the command in Germany until he had acquired a majority in the Reichstag.

The French people are beginning to fear, not the development of a reactionary force, but a series of acts of violence, which the automatic pistols of Limoges have set off. That is why the old revolutionary alarms are ready to ring out over the fields where



the friends of M. de La Rocque are reviving the republican philosophy.

The government must find sufficient energy to stop these threats, or else the nation, in a revival of patriotism must find the means of making them cease. In this calamitous Europe where we find ourselves, no régime, no government, can assure French continuity which has not with it eight-tenths of the country. Already the value of the franc has been the gamble of political parties, and now it is alliances, friendships, even the diplomacy of France. Does not the French bourgeoisie see the abyss which her so-called defenders are digging for her to fall into?

*Translated by Ann Bishop.*

## COMING--REVOLUTION IN URUGUAY

• Francisco Carreno

*From "Die Internationale", Amsterdam, Holland  
Luis Carlos Prestes, leader of the recent Brazilian revolt, said: "The revolutionary move in Brazil will be followed by a people's uprising in Uruguay. And—mark my words—it will be sudden, ruthless and bloody."*

### How the Dictatorship Arose

**T**HE economic structure of Uruguay is semi-colonial. Imperialist interests have penetrated the country to such an extent that its very independence is at stake.

English and American capitalists are exploiting the means of transportation and the public utilities. More important is their control through "Swift" and the "Anglo" of the economic nerve center of the country: the meat packing industry.

The large landowners and cattle ranchers, the most influential section of the population, are banded in two organizations: Federación Rural and the Economic Vigilance Committee (Comité de Vigilancia Económica).

These gentlemen have carried on for a long time a lively campaign against democratic and parliamentary government. Threatened with ruin as a result of the world crisis, they started to demand a "strong, mobile" government that could cope with the situation. The fruit of this agitation was the establishment of the system of "Autonomous Industrial Associations", the new economic policy giving the State full control over the most important industries. This step was furthermore actuated by the need of supporting the relatively huge army and many bureaucrats burdening the country. The State started to build refrigeration plants and telephone service lines. It organized the N. A. C. A. P. to regulate the oil companies. All natural resources were declared State property. The sale of alcohol became a government monopoly. The production and distribution of milk was taken over by the State, which started to build huge electric plants for use in the industry.

All these acts revolved about an interesting, though faint-hearted, attempt to wrest the country from the clutches of imperialism. Big business, especially English and American, became alarmed. Standard Oil and Dutch Shell began to intrigue. The result was Terra's coup and the present dictatorship.

### Proof of Their Guilt

Terra's dictatorship rests upon the shoulders of the foreign exploiters. They entrusted him with the delicate task of executing their plans, and they found it convenient to commission him to exterminate all vestiges of civil liberty in Uruguay. It is interesting to note that the native upper crust of the country—they

who had been clamoring for a "mobile" government—immediately identified themselves with the new dictator. But definite facts go to show that the coup of March 1933 was planned and organized by foreign capital.

The Foreign Office in London recognized and even congratulated Terra the day after his seizure of power. Thereupon, the English owned streetcar company underwrote for the new government a loan of 300,000 pounds, receiving in turn the permission to merge the two existing companies.

The Terra dictatorship then reinstated the previously ousted American company to its former position within the government owned telephone service. The firm leased the lines at an appallingly low price.

The new government also received a loan of 1,000,000 pesos from each of the two railroad companies—the Portland Company and the firm of "London-Paris". Other big loans were contracted through the gas, water and refrigeration concerns. All these loans were given in exchange for government bonds. The railroads received bonds worth 2,500,000 pesos; the Portland Company hogged 5,000,000 pesos in issues negotiable within five years.

The foreign capitalists are well aware of the fact that they can perform this juggling only while the dictatorship lasts. . . The fact that government control over finances was declared invalid speaks for itself. The manner in which the former government control of large industries was done away with is no less eloquent. The firm of Sansinena received the lion's share of the sales of the State refrigeration plants. The million dollar transaction in favor of the people who took over the hydro-electric power plants on the Río Negro, the pawning of the telephone lines, were other typical acts of the Terra government. . .

The connection of Terra with the foreign capitalists is also suggested by his appointments. At the head of the N.A.C.A.P.—a body organized to control the oil industry—he put representatives of the British "Sell-Mex" and the American Standard Oil.

The same fate befell the government built refrigeration plants, the original aim of which it was to protect the cattle-raising and meat-packing industries of the Río de la Plata district from the avid maneuvers of the British. The dictatorship entrusted the London representation of these industries to the South-American Purchasing Agency, one of the most powerful members of the meat trust. The State refrigeration plant became a toy of "Swift" and "Anglo," assuring their control of the cattle-raising and meat-packing in Uruguay. Through a joint regulation of the market, price fixing and ruthless rationalization, these companies are able to pursue a policy of unhindered exploitation of the masses.

### The Beginning of the End

The dictatorship was established on March 31, 1933. There have been recent predictions that this state of affairs will not last long. . . The native forces supporting the dictatorship are feeble. There have occurred of late popular expressions of resentment. The bold exposure of the cruel monopolistic exploitation in the Río de la Plata region is the beginning of the end of Terra's rule. It will either perish through violence, or choke because it is unable to swallow the enormous and pretentious "reforms" it has instituted.

Gabriel Terra, the Primo Rivera of Uruguay, has shown himself ready to serve his masters for a consideration. He found it comparatively easy to obey the commands of the English and American capitalists and, at the same time, utilize in his own favor the economic and political possibilities of the day. The first step of instituting the dictatorship was an easy accomplishment for a person of his low moral caliber. It was simply a matter of unleashing the baser instincts of the lowest strata of the Uruguayan population and satisfying certain capitalist interests. And in the beginning it was not difficult to entrench the one-man régime—with the aid of the numerous police and army.

But the dictatorship, which for two years has managed to keep up the appearance of strength, is now tottering. The gov-



# BEHIND THE MARSEILLES ASSASSINATION

## Hitler in the Balkans

*From "La Correspondance Balcanique".*

**N**OWHERE do the conflicting interests of Europe's great imperialistic powers clash so violently as in the Balkans. Southwestern Europe reflects, as in a convex mirror, the rays of the foreign policy of the Third Reich, which is controlled by four factors: Austria, Czechoslovakia, France and the Soviet Union. These deprive it of all unity.

Austria! So long as Hitler believed in the open road to Vienna, and harmony existed between the National-Socialists and their Fascist brothers, his understanding of the problem was quite simple. Between Austria and Italy stands the largest and most powerful of the Balkan States, Yugoslavia, whose most implacable enemy is Rome. Hungary and Bulgaria are Italy's allies. Budapest and Sofia await with no less impatience than Rome the ruin of Yugoslavia. If Yugoslavia should disappear there would be no further obstacle to the annexation of Austria by Germany. But the Little Entente would cease to exist at the same time as Yugoslavia. Czechoslovakia would then be isolated, surrounded, an easy prey for Hitlerian Germany. The disappearance of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia means the crumbling of the system of French alliance in the East; France would be driven from Eastern, Southwestern and Central Europe.

### Racial Theories and Murder

Previous to the rupture with Italy Rosenberg had a special theory in connection with his Balkan policy. Of course, Yugoslavia was to be divided, and Hitler should swallow a convenient slice of it, not yet quite decided on. It happened, however, that one day the Third Reich heard of something resembling political dissension between Yugoslavia, the Serbs and the Croats, and learned that the inhabitants of the Dalmatian Coast were Croats. Immediately these Croats were separated from the Slavs of the South and labelled "descendants of ancient Goths." Besides which the Croats were found to be Aryans and as such should of course be returned to the Germans.

ernment reported a saving of 10,000,000 pesos in the budget. However, the minister of finance was obliged to admit that this economy existed only on paper. A high official of the treasury department has revealed that the finances of the country are in complete disorder. None of the popular promises made by the government have been kept. Unemployment has doubled.

Bankruptcies and debt moratoriums in industry are on the increase. The prices of bread and meat have risen in spite of the fact that cattle and grain are literally given away for nothing in the markets. More than 700,000 pesos have been spent to strengthen the police force and the army. Battleships are being constructed. The bourgeoisie is taking up a subscription to help equip the police and army with the latest weapons. Schools and universities are being shut down in the name of economy, while money is being spent for espionage and fascist propaganda. In order to survive the dictatorship needs money and popular support.

But the great mass of the population is now well aware that the dictatorship is morally and materially on the brink of a precipice. It is doubtful whether the people of Uruguay will tolerate Terra much longer. Crises have a characteristic effect is somewhat similar to that of diseases that tend to evoke their own antidotes. They clarify the situation. . . The outbreak may come any day. Terra's dictatorship is doomed.

*Translated by Elspeth Kates*

The records of the Marseilles outrage prove that the followers of Hitler and Rosenberg thought quite seriously of this. Not those records which can be produced without fear of foreign complications at the trial of the regicides now taking place at Aix, but those which lie in the secret closet and prove in detail the complicity of Hitlerian Germany in this crime. It is clearly set forth in these documents that the "Oustachis" issued and circulated in Berlin a separatist Croat newspaper financed by Rosenberg and Goebbels, that they had their offices there, had plenty of money, and their partisans operated two military training camps on German soil. Pavelitch, the organizer of the crime, had free entry to the Brown mansion in Berlin. One of his trustees was go-between for him and Rosenberg, who never allowed a diplomatic reception to go by without this liaison agent being present.

In the "Angriff," as in the smallest of the country National-Socialist newspapers, the "Oustachis" propagated their ideas,—the ideas of those Croats who were Goths and therefore formed part of Germany. Until the crime at Marseilles this personal policy of Rosenberg was not official, and painful explanations took place more than once on the subject between the Bureau of Foreign Policy of the National-Socialists and the Foreign Office at Wilhelmstrasse.

Wilhelmstrasse and the official Third Reich gave out a new alluring policy towards Yugoslavia after their rupture with Rome. Yugoslavia was not to be divided and partitioned. On the contrary, Yugoslavia should continue to live, but be separated from the Little Entente and from France. Yugoslavia should be Hitlerian Germany's ally against France, against Czechoslovakia and against Italy.

### Brown Shirt vs. Black Shirt

Germany was unable to agree with Italy about the annexation of Austria. The question of "Anschluss" looks different to Yugoslavia. She finds herself obliged to choose between two evils, of which Mussolini as dictator behind the scenes in Vienna is in the long run the worse, Hitler in Vienna the lesser. Belgrade hopes for neither the one nor the other. But if there must be an "Anschluss" let it be with Berlin. Even the independence of Austria under the rule of the Hapsburgs and tolerated by the great Powers would be as dangerous and insupportable for Belgrade as for Czechoslovakia.

France, the great ally of the Little Entente, has been considering this restoration for a long time, and there existed a strong tide of opinion in that direction—they would not hesitate to sacrifice Austria on the altar of a Franco-Italian reconciliation. Is it astonishing that Hitler thought he had won at Belgrade?

Such was the reason for the campaign of agitation carried on by Goebbels in Yugoslavia—which is still going on. Millions of marks have been sent by the Ministry of Propaganda to Yugoslavia during these last two years. German money flows in through a thousand channels and circulates in various forms. From the time of the voyages of Roehm and Goering till the translation into Serbian of Zion's "Protocol of the Wise" and free distribution of hundreds of thousands of copies of that vile work: from the time when newspapers were published in Yugoslavia under the direction of Mr. Goebbels and singers and professors were supplied gratis to the theaters and Yugoslavian conferences, till the trip to Germany so graciously offered to whoever cared to go there, there is no kind of propaganda the Third Reich has not daily used in order to influence public opinion in Yugoslavia.

Their success, however, was very poor. The Little Entente and the alliance between Paris and Belgrade still live; the relations between Rome and Belgrade are greatly improved. This is not so much to the credit of Paris as it is owing to the way in which Hitlerian Germany is always getting caught in the trap of its own lies and stupidity—because its Balkan policy is based on falsehood and dishonesty. As the German proverb says: one cannot yoke a fox and a hare.

An alliance between Hitlerian Germany and Yugoslavia? What about the friendship and alliance between Berlin and Buda-



pest, between Berlin and Sofia, and those attempts, never successful, to regain the love of Mussolini? Of what use a German-Yugoslavian alliance if the Third Reich should continue to supply cannon to Belgrade's worst enemies, the Hungarian and Bulgarian fascists,—if she continues to rearm those whose sole foreign policy is the hope of revenge on Yugoslavia? Whether she wants to or not, Yugoslavia will always be obliged to seek security and support of the Little Entente, and an alliance with France.

Another factor, equally important in the fight against Hitlerian Germany, exists in the masses of the Yugoslavian people—those so-called Balkan bastards! They despise and detest Hitler's fascism just as much as they hate Mussolini's.

#### The Fate of the Balkans

The heart of the Yugoslavian people, be they Serbs, Croats, Bosnians or Montenegrans, beats for Russia. It is not by chance that no popular assembly takes place today at which the renewal of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union is not demanded.

If the Third Reich were not breaking its own neck with its Yugoslavian policy, this fate would be meted out to it some day by the Slavic masses of the South. This is true of Yugoslavia as well as Bulgaria.

Hitlerian Germany meets with more success in Sofia than in Belgrade. The actual masters of Bulgaria, those terrorist oppressors of the Bulgarian workmen and peasants, are devoted heart and soul to fascism. Hitler and Mussolini are rivals there, each striving for predominance. Boris is of German origin. His wife, the queen, is an Italian princess. Which of them will prove the stronger? She—or he? We believe that history will soon answer this question, saying: "Neither of them." Both will disappear. But the Yugoslavian people will remain, and they want neither Mussolini nor Hitler, they will not shed their blood again for German imperialism.

It is in Yugoslavia that the fate of all the Balkan States is now being worked out. Albania is the vassal of Mussolini. Greece, just now, is controlled by England. Turkey maintains the best relations with Russia. Roumania, the third member of the Little Entente, is respectful. Turkey, Greece, Roumania and Yugoslavia make up, however, the Balkan Union, which is closely bound to the Little Entente. A straight line, a solid barrier of peace, runs from Prague to Angora, with Belgrade as the central point. Yugoslavia is the largest and most powerful of the Balkan States. Hitler master of Yugoslavia would mean German domination of the Balkans. The result would be the end of Czechoslovakia—a blow, perhaps mortal, aimed at France and a wound in the flank of Soviet Russia. The Balkans were the road by which the German imperialism of Wilhelm II wished to pass to the conquest of Asia and world dominion. Hitler has taken the same route and the Third German Reich will break its back there, the same as did the Second.

*Translated by Annie Bishop*

*Professor Loeffler, director of the Institute of Racial Biology of the University of Koenigsberg, objects in a communication to the Information Agency of German Publishers against what he calls "the excesses and superstitions on the subject of racial purity."*

*"Germans," said the professor, "who have correctly recognized the importance and the influence of heredity, provoke unfortunate excesses by the fact that they mix racial science and research on heredity with attempts at mystic and superstitious interpretation. . .*

*"Thus has spread the theory of "telegony" or "impregnation", according to which a non-Jewess who has had sexual relations with a Jew may even much later have children who, though their father is an Aryan, conserve the biologic traces supposedly left by the first Jewish husband or partner."—"Frankfurter Zeitung", Frankfurt.*

# MILITARY MIGHT OF

*From article in "Der Kampf", Praha, Czechoslovakia.*

**T**HREE distinctive features characterize the Red Army of today: the training and manipulation of great masses of the population, the manifold, strong offensive arms and an openly aggressive strategy.

After the reform of 1934, which raised the strength of the standing forces to 940,000 men, the Red Army consisted of 101 divisions of infantry, 28 divisions of cavalry, about 1500 batteries of light and 500 batteries of heavy artillery. These form the standing army, which, through the continuation of service, is articulated with and based on the territorial citizen military formations. There is pre-military training for the younger years and, besides, training of troops for the reserve contingents, provided by "Ossoavichim." The preparation of the ranks as well as of the commanding personnel of the standing army is on a very high level. German military literature abounds with expressions of astonishment at the high standards set for the individual members and the various branches of the Soviet army and the precision of the control norms used for testing the execution of assignments. Shooting, having become a national sport, shows unmatched results. 50 per cent of the standing army had by 1933 received training in the machine technic of modern warfare. Here no consideration is taken of the machine-gun ranks, which form 20 per cent of the army.

Pierre Cot, former French minister of the air, today the chairman of the air committee of the House of Deputies, who visited Russia toward the end of the summer of 1933, said:

"Everywhere, in all the training institutions of the Red Army, we found to our surprise laboratories, work rooms, scientific equipment. There is nothing like it in the training quarters of officers in Paris, Lyons or Marseilles."

#### Air Strength

The chief of the Italian military mission, General Grazioli, who visited the Soviet Union in 1934 and, according to the comment of the German General Staff, had a fine opportunity to study the Red Army, writes that the education of the officers of the Soviet Army answers the strictest requirements of modern war science. In the years 1930-1933, the Red Army went through a technical revolution. Its airfleet is a product of this period. It rests on a powerful production base. According to the testimony of Pierre Cot given in July 1935, the production capacity of the Soviet military air industry is more than double that of Germany and France put together. Specialists state that early in 1935 the Red Fleet consisted of 5000 flying machines. French, German and Swedish observers agree on this. The best series of planes have a speed of 450 kilometers an hour in the case of pursuers, 380 for light machines and 300 kilometers for heavy bombers. These are up-to-date European records. According to a competent French authority (Pierre Naquet in "Paris Midi") the bomb marksmanship of the Red Fleet, that is, its actual firing strength, was four times as great as that of the French fleet. The Soviet Air Fleet can carry and throw 1200 tons of bombs at one flight in comparison with 300 tons for the French and 350 for the Italians. In the summer of 1935 the Russians acquired several squadrons of gigantic bombers having a bombing capacity of 7 to 8 tons per plane, that is three times the capacity of the most powerful bombers of the European fleets, and with a flying range of over 1500 kilometers. The Soviet fleet was one of the best arguments for a military pact with Russia. By means of it France seeks to answer the danger of a sudden overwhelming attack of the German air fleet with the threat of a just as startling and more massive counter-attack by air from the east. We know the fears of the German press that in case of war Czechoslovakia will become a harbor for



# THE SOVIET UNION

## • Alexander Shifrin

the Red Fleet. Thus the "Frankfurter Zeitung" on the significance of the Paris-Prague-Moscow military pact: "A strategic dart, which the French can make any day and calling only for a flight of a little over 300 kilometers, across the Mannheim-Main rayon, to the Czechoslovakian wedge, can cut off South Germany from North Germany. This distance is halved if ally planes leave the Czechoslovakian stronghold to meet the French. There is no doubt that Russia (interested in passing around the flanks of Poland) will be in the position to make an irresistible attack against Germany."

### Tanks

While the growth of the Soviet air strength has been very important, the real military-technical metamorphosis of the Red Army was accomplished through its motorization and mechanization. Motorization is the application of motor power to the transportation of troops. Mechanization is the application of motor power to the military arms themselves: tanks, motorized artillery, etc. The tank not only led to a technical revolution in the combatant forces. It also brought a basic change in strategy, making important modifications in the laws of the tactical movement of troops, of line piercing, of flanking operations and the science of attack in general. For tanks the Soviet Union possesses a powerful industry, the tractor industry, the largest in Europe. The tank is nothing more than an armored tractor provided with fire arms and a caterpillar tread. In the use of motor power, the Red Army was first in the world at the end of 1933, with a ratio of 7.47% for each soldier. The Soviet forces possess all kinds of tanks, heavy, light, rapid, floating, tanks with double wheels and double caterpillar tread. General Loiseau, the chief of the French military mission which observed the great autumn manoeuvres of the Red Army in 1935 at Kiev, spoke especially of the colossal superiority of the Russians over all other European armies in the matter of military technic. He cited the Soviet tank armament. According to him the Red Army occupies the first place because of the diversity of its tank types as well as the close articulation of this branch with the other military branches ("Le Temps", 20th of September 1935). Considering the progress of Soviet motorization and the coefficient increase of its tank armaments since 1933, which Tuhachevski emphasized in January 1935, we must conclude that the Red Army possesses at present between 8000 to 10,000 tanks. Modern war technic requires 30 to 35 tanks per kilometer for a piercing operation, that is for the heaviest concentration of tank armaments in a limited area. Russian military literature counts on an effective front of 600 kilometers in possible war operations against Poland. In order to reach such strength as would enable its forces to attack with tanks along the entire western front, the Soviet Union merely needs to double the number of tanks on hand, bringing the number to 20,000, a light task considering the annual production of 100,000 tractors. A German writer calculated the large motorized and mechanized units of the Red Army to consist of 10 divisions at the beginning of 1934. (v. Zesk, *Das russische Kriegsheer*. "Deutsche Wehrbeiraege".) He was referring here to a concentrated shock army. The experts who want to reform the French army do not ask more than a motor-mechanized cover army of six divisions for 1936. Closely connected with the entirely motorized divisions are similar smaller units, which may be incorporated in other groups. An indication of the probable strength of the motor-mechanized Soviet troops is found in the fact that the Moscow Academy for Motorization and Mechanization, which offers the highest training in the use of such arms and where only commanders of the larger units are being educated, is now training more than a thousand officers for such positions.

### An Army of Attack

Another offensive instrument heavily represented in the Red Army is the cavalry. With her 28 divisions of cavalry, which at the very outbreak of the war can be easily doubled, the Soviet Army possesses a compact mass of horsemen that not only surpasses the cavalry force of any one country but is greater than that of France, Germany, Italy and Poland put together. The cavalry formations too are well motorized and supplied with the strongest fire arms. Important military writers predict independent strategic tasks for cavalry in the coming war: "Besides the tactical duties that it will have in conjunction with the air fleet and armored and tank divisions—that is, the routing and destruction of the retreating disorganized enemy,—cavalry will also have strictly strategic-operative assignments: the deep encircling of the enemy, the occupation of its great strategic, economic and political centers. ("Voina i Revoluzia", September-October 1933.) Modern military doctrine has completely rehabilitated the role of cavalry. Even the latest German military literature now recognizes cavalry as a specific attack arm that has acquired new possibilities with recent military-technical progress. They assign cavalry the task of following the large attacking tank formations in both piercing and encirclement operations. It was already used that way at Amiens, in the initial battle of the 8th of August 1918 when the cavalry was thrown into the breach in the German front immediately after the tank attack.

With her 6000 cannon of light and 2000 cannon of heavy artillery, the artillery of the Red Army equals approximately the strength of the French artillery, which before the German rearming was the first in Europe. The motorization of the Soviet ordnance has been going on incessantly since 1932. The art of artillery fire ranked high in the old Russian army, but it was the fire of batteries and not of large units.

The basis of the strength of the Red Army is the development of all known means of attack. To a certain extent the "specialty" of the Red Army is the simultaneous and combined use of means of attack: the air fleet, tanks, cavalry, artillery, chemical arms, —just as in the World War field artillery, fortresses and later tanks were the specialty of the French, and infantry and heavy artillery the specialty of the Germans.

The supreme question in the present situation is the relative strength of the Red Army, that is, its position and strength inside the anti-German coalition and her strength compared with the war might of its likeliest eventual opponent, Nazi Germany.

### Soviet Army vs. Reich Army

There is no doubt now that Germany is seeking the military hegemony over Middle and Western Europe. She has been rearming and has already overtaken France. For example, in the number of reserve troops, in the airfleet, and in the matter of modernization of war equipment, France leads only in the number of trained reserves, fortifications and in some kinds of heavy weapons: heavy artillery and certain tank types. But Germany is now doing her utmost to get ahead of France in all heavy weapons. France is trying hard to modernize her airfleet (after this reorganization it will not be behind the Germans qualitatively considered) and to strengthen her mechanized troops. But it is doubtful if France can succeed in this.

The Soviet Army is the only armed power in Europe which can be compared with the present Reichswehr. Both have the following in common: a completely militarized population, strongly developed offensive weapons, an attack strategy. The Soviet Army has the advantage of time. When, in the middle of 1933, Germany began to rearm, the Soviet Army was already equipped with all sorts of modern weapons and had at its disposal 10 million trained reserves. Germany did her utmost but could not pass the Russian Army. A complete analysis of the new German armed forces was given in a report by Assistant Commissar of Defence, Tuhachevski, in the "Pravda" of March 31, 1935. According to this source, the "Goering" airfleet numbers 3700 planes but is behind the Soviet airfleet both in numbers and quality. Recent



comments on German air rearming make no mention of new records. This applies also to tanks. The German military industry works with terrific speed but the progress of the Soviet army industry is also immense. We must bear in mind that its equipment was quadrupled last year.

In training and operative management, the Red Army remains in advance. The old Reichswehr was without question the best trained infantry in the world but was not a corps specializing in the use of modern weapons. The use of up-to-date weapons, because of their variety and combinations, calls for articulation that is the fruit of years of preparation. The Russian Army has already reached a high degree of accomplishment. The German army has not as yet. For the first time since the turn of the century Germany faces a stronger opponent to the east and not to the west.

A continued comparison of the two armies brings out some excellent points in the German forces. Germany has, for instance, better units of non-military technical specialists, who can be militarized quickly. The quality of its artillery is superior. It has a better equipped technical apparatus. In this comparison a number of weak points of the Russians come to the surface, but these weak points do not really lie in the military field. It is true that it is hard for a backward people to master modern complicated war technic. We know that there are many defects to be overcome in the department of traffic. On the other hand, we may overlook the youth and early stage of development of the Russian industry. But the marked advance of the Soviet airfleet is a proof of the technical ability and progress of the Russian people. Pierre Cot stated that when a country could build such a remarkable airfleet, it had undoubtedly mastered the most important steps of industrial and military organization.

#### Soviet War Chances Better

Furthermore, the production of the Soviet heavy industry has almost caught up with that of Germany. In 1934, the year when German raw iron production reached its peak, the Russian raw iron industry was leading. The machine industry also shows tremendous progress. Its production is ten times its size before the war. An important point is raw material. Here the Soviet Union is in a better situation than Germany. Russia is the only European country possessing inexhaustible resources of the most important raw material needed in modern warfare, oil. Time is working for the Soviet Union. General Sikorski, the outstanding military authority of Poland, indicated that Russia is now an industrial world power, and he warned his country—not openly, of course—to keep on friendly terms with the Soviet government.

The director of the technical department of the French air ministry, Caquot, calculated in August 1933 that the economic war potentialities of Russia were somewhat above those of Germany and already twice as large as those of France and England. The calculations for 1936 tend to show that the Soviet industrial war potential will be double that of Germany and four times as strong as that of France and England.

#### Soviet Army Guarantee of French Defence

Concerning the difficulties in Soviet transportation, it is interesting to notice the statements of Russian émigré authorities such as Lieutenant-Colonels Shumski and Saitzev. They warn against an exaggeration of the Russian traffic crisis, and say that in case of war all the participants will face the same situation. On the other hand, the military layout of the Russian railway system is much better than its mere economic layout. Leading to the west front are 17 railways with 29 tracks. Let us not forget the recent progress made by the Soviet Union in the construction of transportation lines.

It is evident that the Russian Army is the only European force that is superior to that of the Third Reich. . .

France made a mistake when it limited its conscription levy year 1927 to a short training period and listened to talk of disarmament. André Pironneau has stated recently: "As long as

## BASIC CONCEPTION OF CHINA

• Major-General Hayao Tada

*This document was drafted for secret circulation among the super-patriots of Nippon by the inner circle of Japanese generals. Major-General Tada issued an ambiguous denial of his direct authorship. What is happening at the present moment in North China goes to prove that this secret pamphlet contains the authentic plan of action decided on by the Japanese militarists. The pamphlet is a masterpiece of honeyed hypocrisy, which cannot fail to amuse and yet horrify the Western observer of world events. "The Basic Conception" will be reproduced in toto (without the slightest expurgation) in the first three issues of the "International Review."*

*This version is based on two published translations, one in the "Manchuria Times," and two Chinese translations, one done from the Japanese version published in "Keishin Nichi-Nichi Shimbun" and the other from the original text of the pamphlet. Taken from the "China Weekly Review."*

Ever since the Occidentals penetrated into the Orient, the attitude of the Powers towards China has been one aiming at her partition, or advocating international control, or attempting to enlarge their respective spheres of influence, or struggling for concessions and market. All these even at the present time present a lively aspect. It is true that such measures of aggression have changed with the times, as far as their contents are concerned, but fundamentally the policy of the Powers has remained the same, always for promoting their own prosperity by exploiting China.

Despite this fact, our Japanese Empire alone has, in pursuance of her national policy, consistently adopted the view of respecting the territorial integrity of China and maintained the principle of friendship and co-operation with China for the sake of co-existence and mutual prosperity between the two countries.

It is true that not only was Japan sometimes disposed to follow the example of Europe and America but some of her sons, on occasions, even loudly advocated the so-called "annexation" of China. These tendencies affected a section of the Japanese people with the result that their conception of China became diversified and inharmonious, which more than once obstructed the execution exercised by such tendencies upon the masses of the Chinese people.

Nowadays when the Chinese sentiment towards Japan is

(Continued on page 23)

we have no real shock army, all our pact obligations have no value." The latest military preparations of the French are important but they change nothing concerning the anti-German coalition. In this coalition, the Soviet Union represents a rising young industry, enormous mass reserves, powerful offensive weapons, a consequent attack strategy, the political dynamics of a recently revolutionary State. France represents financial power, an old qualified industry, an old developed army, stronger fortifications, a proved defensive tactic which incorporates the experience of the Marne, Verdun and Amiens. The leading conservative journal of France, "Revue des deux Mondes", whose military experts are Marshal Petain and General Debeney, states the Soviet Army has an important role to play in the present European situation. The treaty with the Soviet Union gives France the guarantee of a successful defence in case of war. . .

Translated by Richard Hoelzner.

(In the February issue: "Probable Strategy of the Soviet Forces in War against Japan and Germany" by von\*\*\*, German military authority).



# THE AZAÑA MYTH

*Azaña is the former republican premier of Spain. Unseated by reaction, he played an ambiguous role in the October revolt. Yet he is now fast becoming the symbol of country-wide opposition to the empowered clerical reactionaries. On October 22, Azaña spoke in Madrid. Conservative estimates set the members of his paying audience at the single meeting at 500,000.*

*From "Leviatán", Madrid.*

THERE is not another politician in the whole of Europe who is so magnetic that half a million persons will spontaneously come to hear him and furthermore pay for the opportunity.

A Mussolini, a Hitler, can find themselves audiences of this size at will. In Italy and Germany admiration for the dictator is obligatory. Not to show admiration when admiration is invited is equivalent to the risk of losing one's daily bread, one's liberty or even life.

What is the miraculous power that enabled this man to mobilize such an enormous multitude, drawing it as though on all the winds of the land but not at all over the winds' free route? Attendance at that huge gathering signified, in a preponderant number of cases, the expenses of transportation and lodging. Many of those present at the memorable meeting of October 20 lacked the means of travel and must have come on foot, passing the night in local jails or in friends' houses.

We do not believe it was the spell of Azaña's eloquence that attracted these hundreds of thousands. Azaña's oratory is usually flat and literary. It lacks the sweeping metaphors and violent tongue-lashings in such great favor in Spain. In contrast to most contemporary Spanish politicians, Azaña is sparing of speech. And his broad, democratic ideology is for most of his listeners a doctrine in which they themselves excel.

What is therefore the secret of the man's hypnotic power? Azaña himself can help us clear up the mystery. He wrote in a letter to a friend in September 1934:

*I find myself metamorphosed, in the eyes of all Spaniards, into a sort of monster. A monster of iniquity for those who hate me; there remains for me only to drink the warm blood of my victims. A worker of good miracles for those who love me: all that I must do now to make these people happy is to cure the king's evil or trachoma by the laying of hands. I regard this great ado about me with much surprise and some amusement. But I also understand that I may be incapacitated by the very violence of such hopes and fears.*

The double self-portrait that emerges from these lines is a masterpiece. Translating Azaña's own words into another terminology, we may say that Azaña is, in fact, a demoniacal legend, but one created by the Spanish rightists.

Only in a country possessing an abundant Catholic mythology, with its implication of a corresponding demonology; only amongst a people whose social consciousness has been deformed by twenty centuries of animistic Catholicism;—only in our country, Spain, could the fear and fury of the oligarchy overthrown on April 14, 1931, have turned this man into a demoniacal symbol or a vengeful destroyer of privilege.

For the gentfolk who lost out in April 1931, Marxism is a satanistic doctrine that announces the end of civilization, culture, fatherland, family, of everything, in short, that has been built up to protect private property. And quite logically, anti-Marxism, and orthodoxy in political and social matters, have become for them a divine doctrine. But it is interesting to note that the Antichrist who became the embodiment of this diabolic perversity was not a Francisco Largo Caballero, or any haphazard Socialist, but Manuel Azaña—a liberal republican, an upholder of the system of private property, a defender of the interests of the petty bourgeoisie that is dominated and mulcted by the great feudal oligarchies of landed proprietors and by the predatory and intolerant Church.

Only in a country where the Inquisition is a warm tradition, where the possessed of the devil were saved by being burned at the stake, can it be understood why the Catholic and privileged strata have persecuted Azaña, even jailing him after the events of October 1934. They did not burn him, and they did not shoot him, but that was not because they did not want to, but rather because they lacked sufficient evidence and adequate pretexts.

It is this campaign of persecution against the man who was raised to the status of a demoniacal myth by the "rightists" that produced the reaction of popular affection shown at the meetings. According to the law of compensation, he who is a devil for some soon becomes God for others. The religious persecution of the Middle Ages resulted in whole communities being possessed of devils. Swarms of men and women rushed off to Witches' Sabbaths for the sole purpose of making pacts with Satan. There are always admirable devils, devils liked for their intelligence, for their incorruptibility and because they cannot tolerate stupidity. Such was the familiar demon of Socrates.

Azaña is today the embodiment of the good, Socratic demon for the Spanish "leftists"—not merely because of the persecution he has suffered but because he is a republican who best represents the democratic revolution in Spain. Others—the other politicians—are open to suspicion. What faith, for example, can the Spanish working class have in a Martínez Barrio and his kind? Obligated to choose between a socialist Spain and the old monarchic, Catholic Spain, they would surely choose the latter.

We do not believe that Azaña is a supporter of republican unity on the fanatical basis of unity as a goal in itself. Political unity must be applied to an end. If there is no agreement as to what is the end, if some want the democratic revolution just on paper, of what good is unity? A republic can be ultra-oligarchic and ultra-catholic, as some in South America. The common denominator of a republic does not suffice.

Therefore, the unification of the so-called Left will be a difficult task. Especially if there is the intention of pulling the Socialist Party into an election-day alliance. For the Socialists to consent to it, this alliance would have to be formed on a platform of action more radical than that which served the revolutionary coalition of 1930. What republicans who are merely republicans would subscribe to such a platform? And certainly a republican platform that would be unable to give a minimum support to the Socialist group would be a useless one. Surely the republicans will not delude themselves that the masses that crowd their meetings are just supporters of the Republic and nothing more.

Undoubtedly Azaña does not make that mistake. He is too intelligent to think that most of those that heard him in Madrid, as previously in Bilbao merely see in him the negation of and protest against the half-hoodlum and half-clerical Spain that was revived in the fraudulent elections of 1933. They see in him intransigent opposition to corruption. They see in him culture and intelligence defying ignorance and cheap flippancy. They see in him integrity of character daring to challenge chicanery and duplicity. They see in him a brave public figure that dares to make a stand against double-dealing obstructionism. But beyond all this, they see in him a republican whose mission is to realize, at least in part, the democratic revolution that was thwarted in the period 1931-1933. They see in him a man whose mission is not merely to maintain the democratic revolution but to transform it into a social revolution that shall liquidate the existing system for good.

They who think that the Spanish worker has relapsed into the illusions of democratic republicanism, just because he attends Azaña's meetings en masse and applauds Azaña with all his heart, are lamentably mistaken. Attachment to a superior man mistreated by resentful inferiors is a sentimental act of justice that does not denote unconditional adherence to his specific republican ideology. To the mass, Azaña does not stand for the recurrence of April 14. To the Spanish mass, Azaña stands for another April, one less remedial, more effective, and reaching beyond the democratic-bourgeois Republic.

*Translated by Daniel de Guzmán*



# THE FAMILY OF ADOLF HITLER

• Rudolf Olden

*From "Neue Tage-Buch," Paris.*

*The publishing house "Querido" of Amsterdam will issue within the next few days "Hitler, Agent der Macht." In the following essay, the author presents the interesting details yielded by his investigation of Hitler's relatives.*

**I**N "Mein Kampf" Adolf Hitler presents his family in the simplest form: Father, Mother, Son. The manifold literature dealing with the life of the dictator, whether National-Socialist or critical, German or foreign, has taken over this version without asking for proof. Some writers have even attempted to derive their interpretation of the character of their hero from his situation as the only child in the family. We do not say that such an interpretation is false. It is merely a question of facts. The facts in the case are different.

They will be presented here, for the first time, with some completeness. One gathers from them that the father's family life was very complicated and, for a poor, small official, quite extraordinary.

Alois Schuecklgruber-Hitler was married three times. His first wife Anna, who as maiden bore the name of Glasl-Hoerer, was fourteen years older than her husband. The marriage must have been unhappy. It was soon broken by a separation.

In Austria, where Catholic marriage laws held sway, "separation" did not signify the dissolution of marriage ties but only the permission to the couple to live apart.

The customs clerk was therefore not free to marry again as long as his wife lived. She died on the 4th of April 1883 in Braunau am Inn, in the same town where her husband was stationed.

On the 4th of May 1883, one month later to a day, Alois married again. His second wife, Francisca, was born Matzelsberger. She did not live long after the wedding, dying in August 1884.

This time the marrying man waited six months. On the 7th of January 1885 he took unto himself as wife Klara Poelzl, twenty-three years younger than himself. She was to become the dictator's mother. On the day of the wedding, she was twenty-four years old, he forty-seven.

The children of Alois Schuecklgruber, who after the 30th of November 1876 called himself Hitler, are as follows:

Alois, born in Vienna on the 13th of January 1882;  
Angela, born in Vienna on the 28th of August 1883;  
Gustav, born in Braunau on the 17th of May 1885;  
Ida, born in Braunau on the 23rd of September 1886;  
Adolf, born in Braunau on the 20th of April 1889;  
Edmund, born in Passau on the 30th of March 1894;  
Paula, born in Fischham, in Upper Austria, on the 21st of June 1896.

Angela, the customs clerk's second child, was born twelve weeks after his second marriage. We have no definite information as to the identity of the mother of Alois, the oldest. However, appearances argue that he, too, was born of the second wife. Alois and Angela were born in Vienna while their father was in the customs service in Braunau. The separation from the first wife, the date of which we lack, took place some time before her death, and Alois was born only a year before her death. We do not know exactly who his mother was. Though it is evident that his mother was not the customs clerk's first wife, Alois is at no time described as an illegitimate child. We must therefore conclude

that he was a natural child, a "Mantelkind," legitimated by the consequent marriage of his parents.

Also Gustav, the first offspring of the third marriage, was, like Angela before him, born only four months after the wedding. Gustav and his sister Ida are mentioned in a matriculation statement issued by the parish officials of Braunau on the 26th of March 1932 and published in "Wiener Sonn-und Montagszeitung." These names do not appear, however, in later documents, from which we have gotten the data on the remaining children. Nothing more is heard of them. We must conclude that they died early in life.

Hitler has sketched his origin and home with simple, clear lines. But upon a thoughtful consideration of the facts on hand, the love and marriage life of the father appears to be extraordinary and almost dissolute. Three wives, seven children, one separation, one birth before the marriage, two a little after the marriage, one wife fourteen years older, one twenty-three years younger,—that is much for a simple customs clerk.

Of all his brothers and sisters, and half-brothers and half-sisters, Angela, later Frau Raubal, is the only one who remained near to Adolf Hitler. She visited him when he was in prison at Landsberg am Lech, and later came to him with her daughter in Munich. Today she keeps his house at Berchtesgaden. Her daughter "Geli" is the niece who was seen in his company for a number of years and committed suicide in 1930.

The Fuehrer himself never speaks of his family. However, once he happened to mention it to a stranger. It was in January 1934, when he met in Saarbreucken the English Major Henessey, who was the Chief of the Saar district police during the last period of the League of Nations rule. Henessey described the conversation in the London "Sunday Dispatch." Soon after, the government of the Reich explained that the conversation was of a private nature and was not meant for publication. After his victory in the Saar, the dictator was preoccupied with the somewhat related Austrian problem. He complained to Henessey about the attitude of the Austrian government and in connection with this said that it had thrown his brother into prison and sent his sister out of the country.

The investigation of the facts imparted to Major Henessey brought out that, a short while before, an uncle of Adolf Hitler, a squire Poelzl of Spital, in Lower Austria, a member of the National Socialist Party, was punished with six weeks' arrest for the possession of deadly weapons. Hitler's sister Paula, who was then living in Vienna, complained bitterly: it was a piece of downright meanness ("eine Schweinerei"), and: "the government committed an act of terror." She also forgot herself and said: "My brother will take suitable measures." She denied the "Schweinerei" when questioned by the court. She acknowledged the "act of terror," and was for this cautioned by the authorities.

Henessey seems to have understood Hitler to say that his brother was imprisoned for political reasons. It is possible that the Englishman had mistaken "uncle" for "brother." One of Hitler's brothers, however,—Alois, the eldest—was, according to the documents on hand, punished several times for ordinary, that is unpolitical, crimes and left Austria. His last known domicile was London.

Nothing is known of Edmund, the second youngest of old Schuecklgruber-Hitler's offspring.

*Translated by F. H.*



# ETHIOPIA IN A TRAP

• Karl Radeck

*From "Izvestia."*

*Not only Italy but England and France are the immediate adversaries of the last independent native African nation. Radek analyzes the historic conditions underlying the present Abyssinian situation, and points to the political reality hidden by conjunctural appearances. How can a backward country hope to save its independence in the face of the onward march of capitalist accumulation? There is a slight possibility of its modifying social and economic anachronisms through its own efforts. But the imperialists prefer to accomplish the historic metamorphosis their own way.*

## The Social-economic Structure of the Country.

THE population of Abyssinia can hardly utilize the natural riches of the country. The feudal nobles, the dominant class of Abyssinia, devote 200 days in the year to festivities. They plunder the wealth found on the surface. They do not worry about developing the productive forces of the land . . . Ethiopian agriculture is extremely backward. The peasant tills the soil with a hoe or a medieval plow. . . The masses lead the life of serfs. They till the domains of great landed proprietors, provincial kings, who bear the title of "negus," and princes, called "ras." Slaves, negroes and negresses furnished by the warriors in the South, form the servant class. Often peasants are reduced to slavery. The Ethiopian Church preaches that slavery is approved by God. The kings of ancient Judea had slaves—as borne out by the Bible—and they were beloved of God.

When oppression becomes intolerable, the peasants revolt. Bold chiefs rise among them. They attempt to create independent States. Then the neguses and the ras unite and name one of themselves king of kings—"negus negusti"—, whom they depose as soon as all danger, interior and exterior, has disappeared. The feudal troops penetrate into the conquered regions. They take away the land from the peasants and call it the property of the State.

The king distributes the land to the warriors. The latter go on their hunts, collect tribute, seek distraction in love. The peasants continue to till the soil and pay feudal tribute to the warriors.

The trades prosper only near the courts of the more important potentates and near monasteries. The artisans make luxury articles for the use of the latter. The peasant satisfies himself with what he himself can fashion. A large part of the land belongs to the Church. When the big landowner finds that force is not enough to bend the peasant, he calls on the aid of the Church.

## Theodore III Makes War on England

One Ethiopian prince got the idea of uniting the country. After gaining some victories, he assumed the name of Theodore the Third. English missionaries and consuls penetrated into the country by promising Theodore the help of Great Britain. He sent letters to Queen Victoria, but not receiving an answer, he considered himself insulted. He suspected that the English promises of helping him to a great Abyssinian empire merely hid dangerous designs on his realm. He therefore threw the missionaries and consuls into prison. It is quite possible that other missionaries, now arrived from France, Germany and Italy, had something to do with this move. At any rate, the British sent over from India General Napier with 12,000 Hindu soldiers. General Napier utilized the animosity of the local ras against the king of kings. At the head of 30,000 natives, he reached the fortress of Magdala. The British artillery knocked the fortress of Magdala into smithereens. The reign of Theodore III and his dreams

of unifying Abyssinia came to an end. He killed himself and his son so as not to fall into the hands of his English fellow-Christians.

The cannon shots that levelled Magdala sent the fame of British might all over Ethiopia. But soon more important news ran through the country. What the ancient kings of Egypt could not do, the Europeans had succeeded in doing. The Isthmus of Suez was pierced. Merchants returned from Massaoua and Obok with tales of boats that breathed fire. The boats brought Frenchmen, Italians, and other Europeans. Even from distant Russia, which Abyssinia knew through the intermediary of the "popes" in the Jerusalem monasteries, came the stubborn cossack Archimov, making his way along the coast of the Red Sea.

All sought to possess themselves of the Ethiopian hills. The rumor spread in the feudal courts. A storm was near. The prince of the province of Choa, who took the name of Menelik II, wanted to unify Abyssinia so that it might repel the invasion of European capital.

## Menelik Plays Poker with the Imperialists

He began by maneuvering and reducing his Ethiopian rivals to impotence. Then he concluded a pact with Italy, which seemed to him his weakest European adversary.

In 1889, he signed with the Italians the treaty of Ougali. He recognized the sovereignty of Italy over the North-eastern coast of the Red Sea, which later became the Italian colony of Eritrea. Menelik received in return arms, enabling him to subject to his power the feudal lords of Ethiopia proper as well as the tribes of the South and South-West. He knew too well that the French and English, whose colonies already separated Abyssinia from the sea, would have conquered these tribes in order to get nearer the Abyssinian plateau where are found the ancient provinces of Choa, Amhara, Godjam, Itre, Harrar.

When the Italians tried to interpret the Amharic text of the treaty of Ougali to make it stand for the establishment of a protectorate over Ethiopia, Menelik resorted to the very arms that were furnished him by the Italians. He inflicted on the Italians several defeats crowned by the rout of Adowa in March 1896.

From the foreigners who came with business proposals in exchange for concessions Menelik learned that the great powers were divided by serious quarrels. He sent the sons of his nobles as scouts to all countries of Europe. He also sent some to the military schools of Russia. He chose his counsellors from among the Swiss and Germans. For he understood that Germany, the young and powerful imperialist country that was battling for a "place in the sun" could serve him as an ally against the great powers that surrounded Egypt, the Sudan, Kenya, Uganda—encircled his country. In the course of his conversations with the representatives of Germany, Menelik learned about the importance of Lake Tana, the waters of which could offer a motive for the conquest of Abyssinia. France was intriguing against Great Britain as well as against Italy. Therefore Menelik conceded to France the construction of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railroad. But he delayed the construction, fearing that the European troops would make use of the road as soon as the French, English and Italians reached a common agreement. It was not finished till 1916.

When England and France adjusted the Egyptian question between themselves and the two States drew closer, Menelik initiated secret negotiations with Russia and Germany. In spite of his intelligence and energy, he could do little more. He did not want to free the serfs, though that was the only way leading towards the industrial development of the country which would have enabled him to resist the appetite of the imperialists. Menelik died in 1913. He was the founder of an absolute monarchy based on feudalism, a monarchy that was attempting to adapt itself to capitalism but had not yet definitely taken the capitalist road.



## Progressive Shrewd Ras Taffari

For three years, the Ethiopian court hid from the entire world the death of Menelik. There was the fear that the great powers would take advantage of the emperor's death and the feudal lords would tear again the country among themselves. Indeed, the forces that Menelik had subjected began to regroup themselves, now around his widow, who had been proclaimed regent, now around his daughter who took the rank of empress, and again around Menelik's grandson, Li-Yatou, who wanted to return to the old feudal customs. However, the true successor of Menelik's work was already on the scene. The young son of the king of Harrar, Taffari Makonnen, incarnated in his person all the tendencies of Menelik's policy.

Quietly, the ras Taffari fought against the centrifugal feudal forces. He stopped Abyssinia from being dragged into the World War. The war came to an end. Ethiopia was still independent. But ras Taffari Makonnen already felt a new tempest coming.

At Versailles, the Italians received no colonies. They were therefore bound to try to seize Abyssinia. Since the English took the Sudan in order to plant cotton there, it could be easily foreseen that they would take a great interest in Lake Tana. Ras Taffari learned French. He studied European literature. He went to Europe in an attempt to obtain the admission of Ethiopia into the League of Nations, in order to save his country from being occupied by the foreigners. He promised to suppress slavery and institute reforms, though he well knew that the feudal lords and the Church would oppose such measures. This melancholy-faced man is very intelligent. He has a great understanding of the world. He understood that if he showed open opposition to feudalism, he would become the victim of an agreement concluded between the foreign imperialists and his feudal lords, such as the ras Hailu of Godjam, whose serfs carried a whole dismounted yacht from Lake Tana to the Red Sea, a distance of 500 kilometers. The ras Hailu may pose as a European while he makes whoopee in the Riviera, but he will never consent to the liberation of his slaves and serfs.

## Heads I Win!—Tails You Lose!

The ras Taffari Makonnen tried to consolidate the state power of Abyssinia, not forgetting at the same time the peculiarities of the social order existing in his country. When he became emperor under the name of Haile Selassie, he created a central government, formed ministries, confided important posts to men of humble origin, small proprietors or even peasants. He brought order into the system of tributes, and tried to limit the privileges of the feudal lords by naming them as his functionaries. He created schools where he accepted children of every origin and not only the sons of nobles. He organized the royal guard, which numbers 15,000 men and is instructed by foreign officers, so that he might assure himself against any attack by feudal malcontents. He also applied himself to organizing a regular army. But not having the time for this, he hurried to reorganize the mass of warriors. He established supply centers in the provinces so as not to have to depend on the local lords. He created a telegraph network totalling more than 3,000 kilometers, some radio stations, and bought airplanes. He also constructed arms works. To the visitors sent by the League of Nations, Haile Selassie could show, smiling his melancholy way, his laws and some schools in which several hundred children of slaves sang a song they had learned by heart: "We are no longer slaves! We are no longer slaves!" He showed his visitors the parliament where he alone makes speeches on progress. His sad smile seems to say that in spite of the weight of the feudal heritage, he hopes to defend his country—thanks to all he has been able to create in face of all difficulties, and thanks to the quarrels that divide the imperialist powers.

Then came the rest. Italian imperialism jumped at the throat of Abyssinia. The Ethiopian serfs went off to war, led by the land

## STEPMOTH

From "El Maestro Rural," Mexico, D. F.

## The Foreign Hold

The Government has recently published some statistics which are both curious and stimulating. They deal with the way wealth in Mexico is divided among nationalities and individuals. Here is the picture the Ministry of Finance paints.

## Average of Individual Wealth

Nationalities	Dollars
Mexicans and foreigners .....	408
Mexicans .....	192
Foreigners in general .....	22,350
English .....	188,845
Americans (United States) .....	97,368
French .....	58,538
Canadians .....	3,143
Germans .....	11,624
Spanish .....	4,185
Other nationalities Chinese, Japanese, Swedish, etc.) .....	8,401

These figures speak for themselves, quite emphatically. Each Mexican possesses an average of \$192, each foreign resident of Mexico \$22,350! One must agree that this statement is worthy of thorough consideration. The difference pointed out shows itself all the more formidably when, taking the total of Mexican wealth, we arrive at this stupefying result:

161,000 foreigners alone possess \$3,616,195,864 whereas 17,000,000 Mexicans possess the smaller total sum of \$3,140,804,136.

The conclusion to be drawn is quite clear: in Mexico foreign capital is the absolute master. In the latter respect our country is no different from the other countries of Central America and most South American countries. Industries, mines, railroads, exterior commerce, the import and export of manufactured articles, are all in the hands, or indirectly under the control, of foreign capital. These economic conditions in our country oblige the Mexican Government to find an indispensable remedy which can be no other than the "Mexicanization" of foreign capital, made possible by the naturalization of those possessing it.

The work of Mexicanization evidently cannot be limited to the establishment of special laws. It will have to be brought about by means of a natural pedagogical system, represented at the present hour by the special schools created by the government to this end. If this work is slow in yielding fruit Mexico will remain, and become even more markedly what it was of old, not only in fact, but also by law: a colonial country, a fief, over which foreign capitals will continue to wrangle.

## Mexicanism Badly Understood

Mexico is not only the country of the "sarape," of the red petticoats of half-breed peasant women, or the swear-words of the celebrated muleteers, as emphasized by certain lovers of the

owners and a small group of young Ethiopians who want to guide their country onto a new road. If the popular masses of Ethiopia do not show in this war extreme courage and much obstinacy, there is the danger that the imperialist powers will end the war by means of a compromise with Italy, even if the latter does not have its way in the course of hostilities.

However, the inner strength of Abyssinia can save the independence of the country, even if events do not free in Europe those forces which alone can protect the colonial peoples against serfdom and slavery.

Translated by O. G.



# R MEXICO

• G. Palma

picturesque. Mexico is all that, but it is also much more. It is the country of petroleum, of mines with inexhaustible veins of precious metal, forests scarcely exploited, fanaticism inherited from Spain, and, above all, of millions of Indians worked in common by Mexicans and foreigners. (There are more than 4,000,000 Indians in Mexico; about 8,500,000 half-breeds, and 1,500,000 whites). Our nationalists are revolting against the progressive Americanization of our manners, dwellings and spirit. But can we repudiate the inventions of technology and the applications of electricity even in the name of Mexicanism? And can we ask in the name of this same Mexicanism, that a regime of ignorance which is annually carried on by keeping 2,000,000 children from school be perpetuated,—a regime which in the year of grace 1934 still defends the maintenance of the large domains, the property of a restricted number of very rich families, while families of peasants continue to receive wages ranging from 40 to 50 cents a day?

## The Sweating System

The rural masses are perfectly aware that they lack the basic necessities of life at the very moment when industrialists and businessmen record a rise in the exportation of their products to the countries of Central America and the southwestern United States. The matter is self-explanatory: the exportation of Mexican products to the United States, to the industrialized country par excellence, is only possible thanks to starvation wages at home. These wages are so miserable, the sweating system is so hard, that even with the customs tariffs instituted by the United States, Mexican and foreign exporters find a way of making profit.

True Mexicanism would consist in putting an end to such a system, and would change things, so that the rich Mexican soil, might benefit ALL Mexicans.

## Large Domains and the Peons

The census of 1921 indicated among other things that in contrast to 832 proprietors of land (holders of "haciendas"), there were in the country a little more than three million peons (rural workers; this term has become in certain countries of South and Central America a synonym for helotism). In a number of the States in our Confederation, more than half of the rural population lives in a state of absolute destitution. Not owning the least bit of land, this great mass of people is forced to toil under the worst conditions on the domains of the big proprietors. And this is going on in spite of the existence of 71,000,000 unutilized hectares of land (statistics of 1930), and in spite of the fact that the Republic possesses 200,000,000 hectares.

One may well ask what is delaying the redistribution of these immense areas of land, and what the Government is waiting for in order to give the country intelligent legislation, both scientific and just, for the purpose of realizing a genuine economic equilibrium.

*Translated by F. Drimmer.*

*While during the season of 1932-1933, forty of the 85 theatres subsidized by the German State still covered 50% of the expenses, this number has fallen during the theatrical season of 1933-1934 to 29.*

*It is in cities of 500,000 to 999,999, and in towns of 200,000 to 499,999 that we have the lowest percentage of plays that manage to meet their budget without resorting to official subsidy.*

*In Berlin, a little more than a half of the theatres, (53%) manage to pay for themselves.—"Die Deutsche Buehne," Berlin.*

LA POPULATION DANS LE MONDE (*The Population of the World*). By Gaston Bouthoul: Paris, 253pp.

**A** POPULAR presentation of the current problems of the population of the earth considered in its relation to the prevalent method of production.

The progress of hygiene and preventive medicine in the "civilized" countries has lengthened the life of man. In France the average life is today 54.6 years. It was 38 years in 1825, and 33 in the 18th century. The present figures would be higher but for the still persisting consequences of the last war. "Indeed, the countries that did not participate in the war have the highest average: Denmark, 60.3; Sweden, 63.33." The average life in India is 25 +.

In the same advanced countries we find that the birth rate has fallen. The result is a numerical predominance of older men.

But this is more than offset by technical progress. With the present ownership arrangement, there cannot be enough work for all.

In Asia, on the other hand, the enormous mortality does not suffice to offer an outlet to the young. The rickshaw man dies at 23 to 25 years. That was the average mortality age of the English and French factory worker at the beginning of the 19th century. "Now even in cities where the number of rickshaws is limited by law, as in Singapore, there are currently more than one hundred applicants for each vacant post."

In Japan, natural production and merchant economy have been replaced to a large extent with capitalist industry. While the birth rate is enormous, the spread of modern hygiene has lowered considerably infant mortality. The industrial civilization of Japan needs urgently new markets in order to survive.

This leads M. Bouthoul to the question of birth restriction. He concludes from a demographic study of various countries that the tendency to birth restriction cannot be foreseen or directed, being determined by numerous factors. Consider the case of France. The most populated country in Europe at the beginning of the 19th century. One of the first industrial countries. The awful condition of the proletariat terrified the little bourgeois; he was always in danger of slipping into the proletarian pit himself. The entire population evolved towards a psychological "embourgeoisement." Be provident. To spend less, have fewer children. "The birth rate is inversely proportional to the average sum of savings deposits." The tendency is spreading all over Europe.

Bouthoul observes that the fall of the Roman Empire was not due to a change in the size of its population but to its interior (social) and monetary policy.

He declares that in the long run historic action "obeys deep instincts that rise from the mass and merely express themselves through the personalities of leaders." The movement of history follows a periodic "rhythm."

## On unemployment:

"Humanity has spent centuries getting everybody to honor and even love work, which was despised in antiquity because it was the lot of slaves. And now that human beings have accepted the curse of Adam, the curse does not want them any longer.

"The glorification of work is the essential value on which modern society is built. It is one of those rare moral beliefs on which everybody is in agreement today. But the contradiction of this belief by reality will lead almost fatally to a revision of all values. We can say already today that there is no place for unlimited individual effort. In an unprecedented manner, regulations and laws tend more and more to limit the right to work. The 19th century was the age of the romantic exaltation of our forces and faculties. There is the tendency today in several countries, and their number is increasing, to hold back and confine the potentialities of human nature."

E. G.



## TWO CURRENTS IN LATIN AMERICA

• Antenor Orrego

*From "Futuro," Mexico.*

**T**HERE are writers in Spanish America who hail the advent of an "indigenous" America. They make this term stand for the resurrection of past cultures. They support their attitude with apparently sound but essentially superficial arguments. They say that in every Latin-American country, and especially in Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Mexico, the White race hardly numbers several thousands, while there are millions of Indians. In the long run, this immense native majority will swamp the European minority.

These writers forget that it is not the quantitative mass that determines the future of a race but the psychic factors and elements that transform, day by day, the mental, physical and spiritual texture of peoples. The redness or whiteness of the skin is not important. Important is what remains effective, from under or outside that skin. This is what determines in reality all important social changes.

The Conquest proved, with axiomatic completeness, that the Indian had reached an easily diagnosed state of decadence. At the time of the arrival of the Spaniards he nourished himself spiritually from a past greatness. Because he lacked social flexibility, because of his psychic crystallization, the Indian became an inadequate instrument of evolution and progress. This is proved by the fact that the structure of the Inca and Aztec empires broke, like glass, into a thousand pieces, at its first impact with a foreign culture. What remains for the admiration of archeologists today was created centuries before by previous civilizations, of which these empires were merely decadent reflections.

Most native Latin-American art of today lacks essential esthetic values. There are isolated exceptions, but these do not count in the world perspective. Contemporary Latin-American art lacks a broad esthetic style. It is mostly a decorative art, an art of copy and detailed stylization. It lacks the creative breath that is a vital element in the making of a distinctive culture. It is an art that does not pass beyond the small limits of the picturesque. It lacks a cosmic rhythm. It merely serves as exotic material export for the snobs of Europe (and the United States?) like the chulos, majas, toreros and the district of Triana among the "exotic" Spaniards. It represents the true Latin America as little as the "chulo" literature of Theophile Gautier represented Spain.

People forget that history has never stepped back, though there are fanciful theories that mean to prove just this. If Latin America has an original message for the world, it must be a message aimed forward, at the future. It must be creative work and not a regressive copy. The study and comprehension of the past can only serve to shed light on the future. It cannot stand for a return to the past, for petrification, symbolized by the figure of Lot's wife.

But if the great dream of the "indigenist" is absurd, the dream of our Latin-American lover of "europeanization" is even more absurd and more anti-biologic. Apart from the fact that Latin America already shows a kind of mental and spiritual autonomy, we know by the experience of the last five centuries that the American setting acts on the migrated European in the manner of a dissolving physical, psychical and mental corrosive. I have had the occasion to say that the Latin-American "criollo," who is a product of the clash of two races and two cultures, is a proof of the degradation of both to an incredible degree. He is human scrap chaotically mixed. But there emerges from this scrap a flexible organism more adapted to the new conditions.

The future of Latin-America belongs neither to the pure Indian nor to the pure European. These, however, constitute two complementary factors of a new mental, physical and psychic configuration, which already begins to show its profile in the

New World. We repeat: the color of the skin is of no importance. What is important is the play of the forces that are becoming organized into a new social structure on our Continent, and will become the instrument of a new expression of the universal mind.

*Translated by Jerome Ruiz*

*LE JUIF ANTISEMITE. By Berneri: editions Vita, Paris, 110 pages.*

**T**HE writer explain a strange but distinctive phenomenon, the anti-Semite mentality of certain Jews.

"One can be anti-Jewish yet not anti-Semitic. Since Judaism is tradition in which nationalism and religious orthodoxy (dogmatic and ritual) mix, it is natural to find both Jewish nationalists and Jewish religionists confuse anti-Judaism with anti-Semitism . . . Anti-Judaism and anti-Mosaicism are essentially theological or philosophical attitudes. Anti-Semitism appears as a race theory and a social attitude . . . Anti-Judaism is a revolt against tradition. Anti-Semitism is a revolt against the race. Both often intertwine. However, the fact that they also reveal themselves separate from each other shows that the anti-Judaism of the converted Jews does not necessarily imply the other . . . The superior Jew, abandoning Judaism, does not lapse into anti-Semitism but the inferior Jew is an easy prey to it . . ." There is the example of Spinoza, who attacked the synagogue, and even Jewish nationalism, without being anti-Semitic.

Why do certain Jews become anti-Semites? "The phenomenon of the anti-Semite Jew, it seems to me, is explained as an inferiority complex trying to escape itself . . . The love of what one wishes to be (born of disgust with ourselves) determines the hate of what one is. But since it is hard to hate oneself, the subject arrives at a hatred of those who are what he does not wish to be."

"There is no constant racial type that can be called the Jewish race. But the fact remains that Jews are here. They exist as a social historic entity . . . Schopenhauer has well said: 'The Jew's fatherland is other Jews.'"

There are Jews who express their disgust for the strictly Jewish milieu because of the inconvenience it caused them in early life. They not only leave Judaism but think of their origin as a blemish. Their dream is not to be Jews. Berneri gives the example of Karl Marx: "To be anti-Semitic was for him not only to try to forget his Jewish origin, but also, and perhaps especially, becoming entirely non-Jewish."

"For a long time yet will anti-Semitism be on the order of the day of human foolishness. Jews have arrived at the hour of emancipation, which is the hardest to live through . . . The Jew has against him the inferiority complexes and the protestations of a bankrupt Christian civilization. He faces the following problem: to assimilate and disappear or to shut himself up in religious tradition, in the racial myth and in Zionist colonialism."

Berneri attacks the nationalist and traditionalist pretensions as well as the anti-Jewish attitude. "Above these two extreme positions there is a third: that of Jewish 'universalism' which seeks the mission of constituting a connective tissue, a capillary system among the peoples. The Jews without a country seem to me to be particularly destined to lay the bases for the great human family. Then the Wandering Jew of yesterday and today will come into the Promised Land, a land promised to man by his historic will, by his desire of liberty and justice. It is not God that calls 'Hear, o Israel!' It is universal misery. And it is the world of Labor which marches, in spite of the barbed wire of national and caste prejudices, toward a better future."

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*What is more beautiful on a male's face than a long, thick beard? In ancient times, it was the noblest feature of man. But alas! As many other things, it has been stolen by the Jews, who have turned it into something undignified. There is no reason, however, for continuing to believe that the beard is necessarily Semitic. It must become again what it was among the ancient Aryans: a beautiful ornament.—"Der Stuermer", Nuremberg.*



# HOW A REPUBLIC WENT TO THE DOGS

*DIE GESCHICHTE DER DEUTSCHEN REPUBLIC*  
(The History of the German Republic) by Arthur Rosenberg: Graphia, Karlsbad, 1935.

THE author of the "Die Geschichte des Bolschevismus" (History of Bolshevism) and "Die Entstehung der Deutschen Republic" (Rise of the German Republic) writes a book to explain why the Weimar Republic fell.

Rosenberg finds his text in the prophetic lines spoken by Wissel, the Republican Minister of the Interior at the Social-Democratic party congress at Weimar on June 14, 1919. Said Wissel:

Though the Revolution has taken place, the German people are disappointed. What the people expected from the Government has not materialized. Yes, we have produced a little more than what was already presented in the program of Prince Max of Baden. We have drafted a constitution without resorting to the interest and participation of the population of the country. We have no program, and therefore cannot satisfy the sullen resentment that lurks in the mass of Germans.

We have built a political system according to the old State forms, into which it is impossible to breathe a new soul. In other words, we have failed to influence the German revolution. In essence, German society remains unchanged. It is common knowledge that the achievements of the Revolution are almost negative in character. It is commonly agreed that we have merely substituted for the old military and bureaucratic machine another that differs in no important way from the old political order . . . I believe that history will pronounce a severe judgment both on our work in the National Assembly and in the government.

Now Rosenberg judges for history. He lashes at the myopic optimism of the republican leaders of 1918, at their helplessness in the face of circumstances. He derides their awe before traditional law and order. But according to him, the acts of the leading republicans are not the only reason for the fall of the German republic. He claims to present here an "objective explanation of events and not a propagandist's argument" for or against that or the other party and set of leaders.

For Dr. Rosenberg the republic ended with Bruening. But the beginning of the end was already visible in the frustrated Revolution of 1918.

## Successful Leaders Follow the Mass

The principal reason for the failure of 1918 was, according to Rosenberg, the political immaturity of the German people. For centuries they were trained to take orders. They had not won their national unity; it was given them from above. In 1918 the German people were suddenly presented with self-rule. The democratic apparatus was there, but real democracy calls for government by the mass.

The collapse of the Imperial regime seemed to have put the rudder in the hands of the social-democratic working class of Germany. But the opportunity of 1918 merely revealed the inadequate political schooling of the Social-Democracy. The German party of before the War combined social reformism with a passive formal radicalism. The decisive moment found them wanting. Neither were, according to Rosenberg, the Independent Socialists and the Communists any less to blame. The Spartacists and others were merely radical utopians who, in spite of Luxemburg's warning, mistook their own desires for the outlook of the mass. The Communists suffered from a Golem-like dependence on the opinions and momentary needs of Moscow.

The fact that the blame can be uniformly put on all the

divisions of the German labor movement shows that what took place was not entirely due to the part played by individual leaders. The truth is that the German working class was not politically mature; it was ideologically unprepared to deal with the gigantic problems of November 9, 1918.

The German workers supported the leaders who suited their political level. On that account, the clairvoyant and the foresighted remained isolated and never had a large following. One of these was Paul Levi, first a member of the C. P. and then back in the Social-Democracy. Rosenberg doubts whether Levi would have played much of a role in deciding the destiny of Germany even if he had lived longer. The "successful" leaders remained in power not only because they controlled the party machinery. They were the leaders because they followed the mass.

## The Failure of the Social-Democratic Politicians

The best aspirations of the Social-Democratic politicians were said to be thwarted at the beginning by the Entente blockade. They shrank from interfering with the economic structure of the country out of a supposed fear of chaos resulting from possible invasion. They lacked, in fact, a real socialization plan. They did not know how to win the peasants, not daring to make a genuine gesture to break up and distribute the estates of the Prussian junkers. "By expropriating the large estates and the mines, the government could have shown the German people that a new era had come. That way it could have won the middle class." The representatives of the people lacked courage.

While expressing concern over the cause of democracy and the desire to guarantee the political dominance of the workers, they permitted the spontaneously formed popular councils, the real masters of Germany on the 9th of November, to die of inactivity. The social-democratic representatives of the people backed down on their own proposal to do away with the many little States that marred the political unity of the country. They spoke of creating a new State apparatus, but did not dare to dismiss the officials and justices of the old regime. Ebert refused to speak out plainly on the war guilt of the Kaiser's Government, under the protest that it would serve the ends of the Entente. Ebert was still closely bound to the imperial rulers of the country.

## The Reichswehr Tops the Republic

But the most decisive mistake of the German Republicans, leading to the destruction of the Weimar regime, was their handling of the army problem. The Ebert-Heuse government came into power with the backing of the millions of soldiers of 1918, who wanted peace. The German republic committed suicide when it did not immediately form its own democratic pro-republican army. By the end of 1918, the Republic no longer had any soldiers at its disposal; they had been demobilized. But the monarchist "volunteer" corps remained under arms. "Soon the German republic had a counter-revolutionary army led by imperialist officers." These forces suppressed the various minority radical revolts. One year after the revolution, not the national Assembly but the anti-republican volunteer corps was the real power in the land. The volunteer corps became the nucleus of the Reichswehr.

The defeat of the Kapp putsch offered the popular representatives a last possibility of subordinating the army to the republic. The opportunity missed, the Reichswehr established itself as the real State:

The Reichswehr did not tolerate any Minister that did not please it. Because the generals had an understanding with Gessler, they prevented his dismissal for eight years of crises in the republican government. No, the generals did not



meddle in daily questions of civil policy. But in critical situations, the veto of the Reichswehr was enough to annul a program or dismiss an official. So that after 1920 Germany really had a dual government. One was the Reich's chancellor with his ministers; the other, the leading generals of the Reichswehr. In a conflict between the two, the Reichswehr was always victorious. And the whole mess was called "German democracy".

Then came the election of Hindenburg, the Emperor's field marshal, to the presidency of the Republic. Who was the State?

### Missed Opportunities?

Rosenberg thinks that a situation favoring a Socialist Revolution appeared again in 1923, when the middle strata of Germany lost their property in the partially inspired inflation. Another opportunity presented itself in 1929, when the world crisis made matters worse in Germany. The combined votes of the S.P.G. and C.P.G. were huge but neither knew how to use the occasion.

The discontent of the German people was already expressing itself through a new medium. Rosenberg enumerates the various anti-Semitic, anti-republican and hyper-nationalist splinter parties represented in the Reichstag after 1928. These foretold the rising power of National Socialism.

According to Rosenberg, the Nazis experienced their sudden growth as an expression of the protest of the hungry and unemployed in face of the helplessness of the two labor parties of Germany. It was Bruening, however, who dealt the Weimar republic the hardest blow, when he—"prisoner of the industrialists, bankers and landed proprietors, lacking foresight and regard for the future of his country, dissolved the Reichstag in 1930." The Nazis came back with a vote of six and a half millions. In panic before the Nazi landslide, the Social-Democracy closed its eyes to Bruening's violation of the constitution. That, writes Rosenberg, was the beginning of the end. Bruening's government became an unconstitutional dictatorship. The majority in the Reichstag did not dare to fight. The road was clear for Hitler.

### Current Judgments on the Book

"Die deutsche Revolution", organ of Black Front, Praha:

Good book for understanding the rise and development of the Weimar Republic. The revolutionary significance of the nationalist as well as the conservative idea escapes Rosenberg. He errs when he brands as counter-revolutionary all those in the populist conservative camp—all political groups between the German nationalists and the Social-Democrats. Eisner is called a creative statesman. Erzberger and Stresemann are overvalued and Bruening is undervalued.

"Neue Front", organ of the Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei, Paris:

It all leads to the question of the relation between leaders and masses and to the question of guilt. The selfconsciousness and the will of the masses are often decided by the behavior of the leaders. Was it a betrayal? No, the leaders did not sell themselves for money. Their corruption was the consequence of their policy. Their character, their petty bourgeois tradition, their rise

From a speech made by Hitler at Nuremberg before the delegates of the League of Hitlerite Women:

"Ah, if you could see my men of the *Arbeitsdienst* (Labor Corps) as they move about in the open air, with no more clothing than shorts and chests uncovered. Isn't that a splendid spectacle?" (Prolonged applause of the audience.)

"Ah, German women! My heart, too, beats when I catch sight of those brawny forms striding with the orderly rudeness of masculinity across our German landscape. Germany is coming into its own."

to power at a time of a truce between the classes, their stand on the 4th of August, all these factors made them "men of law and order" and led them to counter-revolutionary activity. An important task of a Marxist historian is to show how the influence of circumstances brought the leaders to their role. The question of guilt in the criminal sense is not important in Marxian research. Important is the question of historic guilt. The German republic offers a lesson for the future. Books like Rosenberg's are a means of preparing the workers for new defeats.

Leo Parth in "Neue-Tagebuch", Paris:

The work is Marxian in the best sense of the word. After the defeat of 1848-9, the emigrants in London and Zuerich raged in chorus that Citizen Mueller or Schulze had 'betrayed' the Revolution. Frederick Engels analyzed the situation in a series of articles which, written for the "New York Tribune", later appeared as "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany," to be falsely attributed to Karl Marx. Engels showed the superficiality of the view that attempts to explain the course of history by referring to the "betrayal" or mistakes of individual leaders. Rosenberg does the same in his "History."

## I.L.P. PLAN AND SOCIALISM

From "Socialist Standard," London

THE I.L.P. presents a plan for "the decisive change from capitalism to Socialism." We quote it in full.

1. The redistribution of the national income on the basis of economic equality.

2. The socialisation of the vital economic resources of the country, including banking and finance, land and agriculture, the main industries and transport.

3. The organisation of exports and imports under national ownership and control on the basis of a planned exchange of goods, food and raw materials.

Each item contains a flagrant howler. First, Socialism is not concerned with "income," national or individual. This barren, mechanical idea of a mathematical redistribution of income is as old as Wyclif and John Ball—and just about as topical. The same futile misconception of Socialism was proffered by the Lassallians in the Gotha programme and manhandled by Marx in his critique of that programme. It appears also in "Labour and the Nation," which was the L.P.'s official statement of policy in 1927. The I.L.P. and the L.P. are affiliated in the spirit if not in the flesh.

Second, "Socialist banking" and Socialist finance" seem to us on a par with crimson camels and purple pigs. Camels just aren't crimson; pigs just aren't purple; and banking and finance just aren't Socialist. They are purely phenomena of commercial society, and will disappear with that society. Socialism will abolish all forms of buying and selling. The I.L.P.'s intention to socialise economic resources now appears no more than a pious resolution; it is open to doubt whether they have any clearer conception of Socialism than the average Christian has of the Kingdom of Heaven. They are laths, painted to look like iron.

Third, Socialism does away with nationality and with exchange. We want common ownership of the world's resources by the world's workers; goods will be produced by them and distributed by them; to "exchange" goods will seem as fantastic then as walking about London in medieval armour would seem to-day. "National ownership" and "planned exchange" not only have no bearing on Socialism, but are, or have been, actually practised in varying degrees by different capitalist countries. Whether the I.L.P. are pandering to nationalist sentiments, or whether this nationalism is simply an unsuspected relic of the schoolroom embedded in their consciousness, we cannot say. It makes no odds—in the one case they are dishonest politicians, in the other incompetent thinkers; in either case, perilous to the workers in search of a solution to their difficulties.



# UNPUBLISHED NOTES ON ART

• Leo Tolstoy

*From "Sovetskoe Iskousstvo", Moscow.  
The following daring remarks of Tolstoy have been  
culled from recently discovered leaves of his diary as  
well as from yet unpublished notebooks.*

Diary of 1889

**T**HE 1st of January.

We began to read "Zlatokousnets" by Leskoff in the presence of some young ladies of the world: Mamonova, Samarina. No more than esthetic judgments, only that side is considered important. I thought: if I succeeded in concentrating all the artistic force that I can imagine, in order to express that moral verity which imposes duties,—not that according to which it suffices to look and listen, but the truth which condemns the old life and demands a new one,—if I were to create such a work, it would probably not have the smallest effect on Mamonova, Samarina and their like. Is it possible that they are not mortally bored? Why don't they hang themselves? I don't understand.

The 11th of March.

I have read Ruskin all morning. He speaks well of art. Science, says he, knows; and art creates. Science affirms facts; art, phenomena. Quite the opposite is true. Art deals with facts; science, with exterior laws. Art says: sun, light, heat, life; science says: the sun is 111 times as large as the earth.

The 14th of March.

I was at Tretiakoff. "The Doves" of Yarochenko is a fine picture. Beautiful, no doubt, but why make such a picture and a thousand other canvasses that are hung everywhere with such gravity. A sincere man needs only to walk through those rooms to tell himself truthfully that it is all a vulgar error, that this is not the thing and there is no need for it.

The 20th of May.

I read Lecky on the esthetic development of art. Yes, art to be respected must do good. But to know what is good, one must have a general conception of the world, one must have faith. Good is the distinctive sign of real art. The characteristics of art in general are the following: all that is new, clear and sincere. The characteristic feature of real art: newness, clarity, sincerity.

The 13th of June.

Sunday, Strakhoff related to us the contents of the operas of Wagner: "Wotan", "Valhalla", the "Valkyrie", "Siegfried", "Siegfried", etc. It is awful to hear what complete foolishness humanity has arrived at. I must talk about art.

The 15th of June.

A terrible example of the vanity of art and science—such are discussions on Darwinism (and many other things) as well as Wagnerism. And nevertheless, the priests of science and art do not wait for the verdict. Long ago they decided that "obscure" people ought to serve them. And if the theater barber has managed to buy some property, the moujiks have to prostrate themselves before him.

The 14th of August.

I read the esthetics of Schopenhauer. What a lack of seriousness and clarity! This morning I went picking mushrooms, and the idea occurred to me that art is one of the means of expression (not thanks to imitation, but thanks to evocation) of a new content. However, the empty art practised nowadays seeks to provoke the same feelings that are experienced by the artist, not to express something, but for no purpose at all, like Petroushka who read books for the pleasure of spelling words.

The 4th of November.

I thought about the essay "On Art". The essential thing, which I did not understand before, is the conclusion that sciences

and arts without a religious base, that is to say, without the aim they must perforce serve, are only an amusement.

Notebook of 1889.

The 8th of May.

Theses on art!

1. Among the cultured of our society an immense importance is attached to artistic occupations: education in the home, schools, concerts, theaters, academies, journals, monuments, commemorations. Many persons occupy themselves with that sort of thing. (Here follow several variants of the same text, all crossed out.)

2. But on observing the occupations of these people (here follow two struck-out sentences, N. D. L. R.), one cannot help remarking that they only serve amusement, that they are not at all useful and are on the contrary often objectionable. First because these men waste their strength uselessly, second because that does not ennoble but corrupts and therefore brings evil instead of good (perverse novels, plays, pictures).

3. And therefore (the next sentence is struck out: "it is necessary to define clearly and exactly the good produced by art") the question that comes up is: On what is the importance accorded to art based?

The Diary of 1890 to 1895

The 21st of January, 1890.

It is strange that so much attention is accorded to perfection, to form. Form is not useless. But it is not useless only when the content is worthy of it. If Gogol had written his comedy ("The Inspector-General" N.D.L.R.) feebly, vulgarly, a millionth of those who read it now would not have read it. It is necessary to whet the work of art so that it may penetrate. And to whet it means to render it artistically perfect. Then it will overcome indifference and win out thanks to repetition.

The 10th of April, 1890.

To express by means of words that which I understand, so that another understands me as well as I understand myself, that is the hardest task. One always feels how far he has stopped from what is possible. And here arises the need of aligning words in a certain order of measure and ending. What folly! But people try to persuade you that words arrange themselves, as if of their own accord, into "love" and "always."

The 6th of July, 1890.

This morning I had a new discussion on the subject of art with Helbig (Mme. N. Helbig, a pianist, a pupil of Liszt). In the course of the discussion I made clear to myself the following question:

1. Art is one of the means of distinguishing good from bad, one of the means of learning good.

2. It is one of the spiritual functions of humanity, just as nourishment, means of communication, etc., are physically functions.

3. How is it possible that we go back 5000 or 500 years to look for these functions and there are not any among us?

4. It is evident that this is due to the stupidity of those who judge and who do not notice the new manifestations, seeing only the cadavers of the past.

The 19th of July, 1893.

It is said that art does not tolerate mediocrity. Neither does it tolerate affectation. I am a singer. I have pommaded my hair. I have put on my frock and tie. I shall sing before you, standing there on the stage. My back is cold and that disgusts me. How-



ever, the nurse and the servant girls walk through the garden. One sings softly and the other repeats the popular refrain. Moreover, it is hard to sing well aloud.

The 22nd of December, 1893.

Several days ago, I was visited by the musician Schohr. We spoke about music, and I understood for the first time the true role of art, even that of dramatic art.

The lack of clarity in defining the arts, music for example, proceeds from our desire to attribute to them an importance corresponding to the high position in which we have placed them. Their significance: 1. They help us to express feelings and ideas by means of words, and provoke the disposition of the spirit in accordance with what they express; and 2. it is an innocent and useful pleasure, really the most useful of pleasures.

The 25th of June, 1894.

It is said: art is natural; the bird sings. But that is the bird. Man wants more. If he sings like a bird, he does well. But if he brings together hundreds of musicians, men deformed in conservatories, men who play in white ties, then the bird can no longer be cited. Man now wastes his reason, which has been given him for high aims by imitating—and badly imitating—the bird.

The 13th of October.

At the present time, men make much ado about their theories of art. Some recognize beauty as the ideal of art; others, utility; still others, play. All this confusion is due to the fact that men always want to recognize as an ideal that which is no longer there. This applies to utility as well as to beauty. Art consists of the evocation of that attitude toward which men ought to tend and which can give them good. That can only be evoked by images. Humanity has lived for two of these ideals. It lives now for the third. First, the useful, when everything that was useful was a work of art. Then, the beautiful. Now the good, the moral. The confusion flows from the fact that people want to reestablish an outworn ideal. It is as if adults were obliged to play with dolls and rocking horses. It would do no harm to say it clearly and concisely.

Summer 1897.

Here is the situation of art in our time and in our society. In the ocean of false art, there is one chance in a thousand of finding a truly artistic object. But such objects are either corrupted or they are incomprehensible for the great mass. As for objects that express uncorrupted feelings and are comprehensible to the masses,—they are so few. They come one in a million.

*Translated by O. G.*

*In the February number of the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW:*

"Changing Trends in French Fiction"

"Nazi Cinema 1935-1936"

"What is Aprismo?"

"Pre-Fascism in the Netherlands"

"Soviet Literature 1936"

"The Road to Power"

"The Secret Goering"

"Probable Strategy in Coming Soviet-Jap-Nazi War"

Reich: "Massenpsychologie des Fascismus"

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# ILYA EHRENBURG AND THE SOVIET NOVEL

• Andre' Malraux

*From "Nouvelle Revue Francaise", Paris.*

THE standards by which we judge the novels of western Europe can hardly be applied to Ilya Ehrenburg's new book, "Out of Chaos", and I fear that western standards will be progressively less and less applicable to the Soviet novel. Especially must we be careful not to let the qualities which we most admired in the Russian novel of the nineteenth century confuse us when we read the works of recent years. The violent expressionism of Dostoevsky has accustomed us to expect of the Russians a type of literature at once psychological and pathetic, a tortured literature which, like ours, rests upon the problem of what man is, while the literature of the U.S.S.R. rests on man's dogmatic will to create. But however monolithic the character of Soviet literature, there is no art which is not multiple, even when it is confined within the limits of a rigorous unity. So, whereas our literatures seek the medium of expressing multiplicity and the peculiar essence of a character in one revealing trait, Soviet literature finds that medium in the significant trait.

There are many reasons for this. The first is that all literature of a new form of society necessarily gives rise to a type.

Our social world has for a long time been divided into classes; for a long enough time, so that this division into classes has no longer any great significance. Such things as the important role played in the government of France by certain great schools, the constant passing of state officials into finance, are to be found neither in Balzac nor in Zola. But these situations are fairly consistent with the "Comédie Humaine"; the petty bourgeoisie has changed little; one can easily imagine a conversation between one of Mauriac's characters and one of Daudet's. (A Soviet friend of mine who came to France last year told me that he seemed able to interpret nearly everything he saw in the light of what he had once read of Balzac and de Maupassant). The western novelist, then, chooses the traits of his characters by beginning with the type and working toward the individual; the Soviet novelist, on the other hand, must make understandable to his readers a society in the process of creation. All literature aims, among other things, toward an understanding of the world. To that end, the author chooses collective traits; that is, traits not common to all, but characteristic of a certain number. We westerners discover the other person essentially within our own internal chaos, while the Russian finds him in the chaos of the world which surrounds him.

Such a literature has value, first of all, because of the precision of its tone. That is why it is particularly difficult to judge it in French translation. Even a good translation can hardly transmit the quality of a precise tone. And even in the best translation we almost always find more of meaning than of artistic pleasure. This is particularly true since Ehrenburg's identification with his characters is rather weak; it is strong only with their universe. It is clear that the Revolution is only the first step in the conquest of human dignity; but how many western readers will view entirely without bitterness Varia's staggering under the load of her kulak father's past? Here Ehrenburg presents merely the facts; but even when he identifies himself with his characters, it is not without a certain indulgence. Balzac, like the Soviet authors of today, found himself face to face with a world "to inventory," and like them he was at first compelled to present types. But for Balzac, man is important by reason of his will power (so much so that with him the artistic expression of passion is often the same as that of will power.) On the other hand, no Soviet writer has yet been able to express the harmony between the world he wishes to master and the emotion which



will serve as his means of mastery, between his "Comédie Humaine" and his Rastignac.

Moreover, the extraordinarily rapid change in Russian society does not make the task of those who would paint that society an easy one. This is true of almost all writers. The formula of "socialist realism" has an entirely different sound in a country where the purely mythological romanticism of western Europe has practically never existed, where a Fantine necessarily became a Sonia Marmeladoff; and where the will power of realism is easier to preach because the world in which it is to be applied (war, famine, five year plans, etc.) is a world of heroic romanticism. Would you call realism the scene in "Out of Chaos" where the actress finds her "raison d'être" in playing Desdemona before the bearded peasants of the collectives of the North? The problem of this book is the expression of the poetic in the light of the real. It proceeds not by metaphor, not by fiction in the deeper sense of the word, but by isolation. It is evident, moreover, that every important scene of this book was conceived before the characters.

Ehrenburg has already written many novels which are worth just what their subjects are worth; that is true of every writer who wishes to "paint." Paint what? In this case the inter-relationship of man, of art, of culture, and even, from a certain point of view, of the meaning of life itself. Lydia and Guenka strive to escape from nothingness, Metzenseff, from suffering. The Western writer would ask: By what path? But for these people, the path is given: it is participation in the spirit of exaltation which animates the country. And so they ask: How is the path to be reached? Russia has always been dogmatic, and Dostoevsky considered relativism as frivolous as did Lenin.

What surprises the western reader most is the lack of richness of sensation. It is quite possible that certain essential effects of the Russian language are difficult to render in French: Gogol's short stories, which all Russian writers admire, give the same impression. A translation, when it is good (which is the case here) preserves the style of the author, but no translation can retain his language. On this subject there is much more to be said . . .

This book is Ehrenburg's best novel since "Rvach (The Grab-all)". It resembles "Rvach" in that it substitutes for the modern novelist's medium of expression a premeditated system of expression by means of facts; a system to which all other media of expression are subordinated. And Soviet writers who have loved "Out of Chaos" will probably before long be led to recognize as one of their masters the man who first saw in the marshalling of facts the novelist's most powerful medium of expression: Stendhal . . .

*Translated by I. H.*

*National Socialism has chosen for itself the mission of exterminating all germs tending to diminish the race, in order to create men that are superior in all considerations. This mission seems more urgent in view of the facts gathered by us.*

*There are at present in Germany:*

*100,000 epileptics (hereditary);*

*280,000 schizophrenic subjects;*

*1,470,300 cretins (in the last stage);*

*110,000 subject to "depressive mania";*

*13,000 born blind;*

*15,000 deaf-mutes;*

*80,000 affected by serious hereditary deformities;*

*32,000 affected by slight deformities.*

*In total, more than two million imperfect subjects, without counting the vast legion of psychopaths who have escaped up to now medical control. Furthermore, this list does not contain the considerable number of hereditary alcoholics, whose descendants furnish the greatest number of imperfect Germans.—"S. A. Mann".*

## A FRENCH CERVANTES

• Louis Aragon

*The brilliant surrealist playboy poet, whom the depression and a tour of the U. S. S. R. have "reforged" into a "proletarian" writer, hails a strange literary genius that has suddenly appeared on the French scene. From "Commune", Paris.*

IN a little seaport on the English channel live men who are continually preyed upon by their passions, their manias, their grotesqueness. Everything here revolves around a boys' school, its professors and the young men who were its former pupils. But it is the middle of the war, and only the chief inspector of studies, the general, the mayor and the headmaster are left. A camp for German prisoners is situated near the village. The entire novel, which occupies the space of time from one dawn to another, is brightened or darkened by scenes that are closely connected to the drama that is being enacted elsewhere, and of which great theatre this tiny village is but one of the wings. We are shown the delivery of the "Legion of Honor" to the wife of a deputy in the same building where the janitor's son, who has been wounded in both legs, sees file in one by one, those who come to celebrate the woman's heroism. Then we see the recruiting board, a scene at the military butchershop, and the revolt at the station, of the soldiers who are home on leave. Down every pathway, a sinister and hurried figure, goes the mayor as he brings news of those who have been killed on the field of honor. From far away are heard murmurs of the executions which follow upon mutinies. Here are blended the nervous crises of ten intimate dramas.

In this world where nothing is strange because everything is atrocious, where the every-day becomes the bizarre precisely because of the absurdity of the common-law, lies are not perpetuated without grinding unprincipalled persons with real men. And there is not one of these people, even the worst, in whom the author does not find that unexpected little corner of sensitiveness which, beyond anything else, makes of them living beings. Rarely has a book been able to give this impression of reality, of personalities caught in reality; personalities which the author has seen, studied and knows. This human menagerie is the result of the experience of a life, and it is clear that the author could not have kept himself from writing this book. The organic necessity of the book for its author is so evident that it is this, perhaps, which impresses one when he closes the volume. Guilloux has an immense talent for atmosphere, and although he does not resemble Flaubert, I can only find comparison to him in "Bouvard et Pecuchet", and "Madame Bovary".

History alone will judge if Louis Guilloux is a Cervantes; but I maintain that Cripure is a Don Quixote, the Don Quixote of the bankrupt bourgeoisie. I am delighted with this idea. I like to imagine the entire history of that class between the two spectres, the Don Quixote it jeered at, and the Don Quixote it produced. I maintain that Cripure is necessary to the complete understanding of the man of today as Don Quixote was to the man of days gone by. I assert that Cripure is a weapon for the man of tomorrow against the man of yesterday. "Le Sang Noir" (Black Blood) is not the direct expression of a battle, where, however, Louis Guilloux has his marked place; but it has played that unforeseen part of the work of art in that transformation of man which takes for granted the overthrow of the economic system, and the struggle of the classes, of which one has only a glimpse here in the huge shadows that loom against the walls of a little town, but which is not necessarily the direct transcription of that overthrow or that struggle. I say, and I repeat, that Cripure is the Don Quixote of today.

*Translated by Jane Sherman*



# PAN-TURANIANISM

## THE PLAN OF A GREATER JAPAN IN SIBERIA • E. Zhukov

*From "Bolshevik", Moscow*

I have before me the monograph of Nodsoe, a professor of economics. The book is called "The Turanian National Movement and the New Mission of Japan" (Turan mindzoku undo to Nipponu sin simei, Tokio). This "scientific" work is equipped with a special map that explains the principles of "Turanianism." According to the map and the author's own observations, "Turanian" or "Uralo-Altayan" peoples inhabit the greater part of Asia as well as sections of Europe. In spite of present differences, the author does not doubt that all these peoples are racially kindred. Nodsoe divides the Turanians into the following main categories:

1. Tungusi. They are the Japanese, Koreans, and the entire population of the Soviet Maritime Provinces and Central Siberia between the rivers Lena and Enissey.
2. Mongols. The inhabitants of Outer and Inner Mongolia and the country east of Baikal.
3. Finno-Ugri. The native population of Finland, the North of European Russia, the Ural region, Estonia, Hungary, the northern part of Sweden and Norway.
4. Turko-Tartars. The natives of Central Asia, Asia Minor and a part of the Caucasus.
5. Samoyeds.
6. Half-Turanians. The North Chinese and the original Bulgarians.

One glance at Nodsoe's map suffices to show that if the Tungusi are "Turanians" then the incorporation with Japan of the major section of the Soviet territory east of the river Enissey is not only logical but all important.

"Hungary is a kingdom"—begins Nodsoe's book. "But it is at present a kingdom without a dynasty. The most important question in that country is the choice of a king. In 1920 a motion was made in the Hungarian Parliament to invite a ruler from the family of the highly revered court of the Japanese Empire. This sounds unbelievable, but there was a profound reason for the suggestion. The Hungarian Magyars are our brothers by blood."

The professor proves the relationship of the Hungarians and the Japanese. A long time ago, he says, the Japanese and the Magyars migrated from the Ural mountains and the Turanian plateau. The first went to the Japanese Isles, the latter to Europe.

Considered biologically and physically, the Japanese, Mongols, Turks and Magyars are one race. Viewed from the cultural aspect they may be said to form the Turanian nation. According to Nodsoe no less than 142,500,000 persons belong to the "pure Turanian stock."

The professor's erudition is undoubtedly less important than his enunciation of the immediate political plans of Japanese imperialism, which is trying to put to its service the theory of "Turanianism." This immediately switches the discussion into the plane of economics.

Nodsoe concludes that neither a Japanese-Manchurian, Sino-Japanese-Manchurian, nor even Asiatic economic block will be sufficient to support the magnificent edifice of the Japanese Empire. Why?

Because the creation of a mighty industrial Japan cannot and must not be founded on the "international exploitation of other peoples"!

"The prosperity of a State based on exploitation is a house built on sand. Permanent prosperity is possible only when there is no exploitation. . . The prosperity needed by Japan must root itself deeply in the soil. It cannot rise on international or national exploitation that usually underlies the principle of industrialization . . . The decadence of Japan may be avoided only through the acquisition of new lands.

"Therefore in order to safeguard its existence as well as its future growth, Japan must not merely acquire new districts that offer themselves as sources of raw material, markets or spheres for the investment of capital. What Japan must seek with all its might is land adequate for the migration of the Japanese people. Japan must have territory large enough to suit its importance. In order to free itself from the economic fetters of international exploitation, Japan must find for its population a large sparsely populated territory that has also rich natural resources . . . Where can the Japanese people migrate in great numbers? Only to Northern and Western Asia,—to the sacred soil of its ancestors, which is even now occupied by kindred peoples."

It appears that the Japanese are metamorphosed into Tungusi in order to lighten the task of transferring the Nipponese Empire from the archipelago to the Asiatic mainland. Here are the economic factors which according to Nodsoe render natural the new Uralo-Altayan migration:

"The former Turanian lands possess natural resources that are rich enough to assure the creation of a self-sufficient economic entity. This district is sparsely inhabited; it is the least cultivated section of the world. The Japanese could migrate there en masse. The Turanian territory, especially Siberia, can absorb more than twice the present population of Japan. The Japanese would develop this virgin country, using their own capital, labor and technique, and without finding it necessary to resort to the exploitation of other peoples and nationalities. The development of these Turanian lands will be the Renaissance of the Japanese people.

"The districts to which Nippon must be moved and which should become the center of the Japanese State have great industrial possibilities. There is little doubt that the economic center of Russia is destined to be transferred to our Turanian lands."

From Nodsoe's description of the territory in question, it becomes evident that the morsel teasing the Japanese appetite is no less than the Uralo-Kuznetsk Combinat.

The author displays a close familiarity with the productive capacity of the region in question. He discusses in detail its oil reserves and other riches. He speaks of these factors with the insolence of a person who already has everything safe in his pocket. He is quite ready to ignore such "trifles" as the Soviet Union.

"The Continental Epoch of Japan has arrived," declares Professor Nodsoe. "The founding of the new State in Siberia will be the most heroic deed of the reborn Japanese people. Whether Turanian (Continental Japanese) or Soviet culture will win the day in Siberia depends on the consciousness and efforts of the Japanese Turanians."

Nodsoe also offers arguments of purely idealistic or "nationalist" scope. But these merely go to explain the central interventionist idea:

"The Turanians must govern themselves. It is dishonorable to be governed by a foreign people. But the Siberian Turanians now find it impossible to win independence by their own efforts... And even if they found it possible, they could not long hold out against the others. That is why they desire Japanese help and

(continued on page 23)



# REFORM OR REVOLUTION

• Rosa Luxemburg

*This is the classic statement of the position of un-revised scientific Socialism on the direction of capitalist development, "historic necessity," reforms, the State, democracy and revolution. Today this work can no longer be referred to as "Anti-Bernstein." The course of capitalism has disproved the "idealists," "revisionists," and "trade unionists" of 1900. The events of the last two decades have corroborated Luxemburg's thesis to surprisingly minute details. The old illusions no longer bear the names of "Bernstein," "Schmidt," but they persist today in spite of the argument of history. For the old illusions have been touched up, dressed in new robes and given new appellations. It is time to read and make popular "Reform and Revolution."*

*This is the first English translation.*

If it is true that theories are only the images of the phenomena of the exterior world in the human consciousness, it must be added, concerning Edward Bernstein's system, that theories are sometimes inverted images. Think of a theory of instituting socialism by means of social reforms in face of the complete stagnation of the reform movement in Germany. Think of the theory of trade union control over production after the defeat of the metal workers in England. Consider the theory of winning a majority in Parliament after the revision of the constitution of Saxony and the recent attempts against universal suffrage. However, the pivotal point of Bernstein's system is not to be located in his conception of the practical tasks of the Social-Democracy. It is found in his stand on the course of the objective development of capitalist society. And that is closely bound to his conception of the practical tasks of the Social-Democracy.

According to Bernstein, a general decline of capitalism seems to be increasingly improbable because, on one hand, capitalism shows greater capacity of adaptation, and, on the other, capitalist production becomes more and more varied.

The capacity of capitalism to adapt itself, says Bernstein, is manifested first, in the disappearance of general crises, resulting from the development of the credit system, employers' organizations, means of communication and informational services. It shows itself, secondly, in the tenacity of the middle classes, which flows from the growing differentiation of the branches of production and the elevation of vast layers of the proletariat to the level of the middle class. It is furthermore proved, argues Bernstein, by the amelioration of the economic and political situation of the proletariat, brought about by its trade union activity.

There flows from this theoretic stand the following general conclusion for the practical work of the Social-Democracy. The Social-Democracy must not direct its daily activity toward the conquest of political power but toward the betterment of the condition of the working class within the existing order. It must not aim to institute socialism as a result of a political and social crisis but should build socialism by means of a progressive extension of social control and the gradual application of the principle of cooperation.

Bernstein himself sees nothing new in his theories. On the contrary, he believes them to be in agreement with certain declarations of Marx and Engels. Nevertheless, it is difficult to deny that they are in formal contradiction with the conceptions of scientific socialism.

If Bernstein's revisionism merely consisted in affirming that the march of capitalist development is slower than was thought before, it would only be an argument for adjourning the conquest of power by the proletariat, on which everybody agreed up to now. Its only consequence would be the slowing up of the pace of the struggle.

But that is not the case. What Bernstein questions is not

the rapidity of the development of capitalist society but the march of development itself and, consequently, the very change to socialism.

Socialist theory declared up to now that the point of departure for a transformation to socialism would be a general and catastrophic crisis. We must distinguish in this stand two things: the fundamental idea and its exterior form.

The fundamental idea consists of the affirmation that capitalism, as a result of its own inner contradictions moves toward a point when it will be unbalanced, when it will simply become impossible. There were good reasons for conceiving that juncture in the form of a catastrophic general commercial crisis. But that is of secondary importance when the basic idea is considered.

The scientific basis of socialism rests, as is well known, on three principal results of capitalist development. First, on the growing anarchy of capitalist economy, leading inevitably to its ruin. Secondly, on the growing socialization of the process of production, which creates the germs of the future social order. And thirdly, on the growth of the organization and consciousness of the proletarian class, who constitute the active factor of the coming revolution.

Bernstein pulls away the first of the three fundamental supports of scientific socialism. He says that capitalist development does not lead to a general economic collapse.

He does not merely reject a certain determined form of the collapse. He rejects the very possibility of collapse. He says textually: "One could claim that by collapse of the present society is meant something else than a general commercial crisis, worse than all others, that is a complete collapse of the capitalist system brought about as a result of its own contradictions." And to this he replies: "With the growing development of society a complete and nearly general collapse of the present system of production becomes more and more improbable, because capitalist development increases on one hand the capacity of adaptation and, on the other,—that is at the same time, the differentiation of industry." ("Neue Zeit," 1897-98, V. 18, p. 555)

But then the question arises: Why and how, in that case, shall we attain the final goal we aspire to? According to scientific socialism, the historic necessity of the socialist revolution manifests itself above all in the growing anarchy of capitalism, which drives the system into an impasse. But if one admits with Bernstein that capitalist development does not move in the direction of its own ruin, then socialism ceases to be objectively necessary. There remain the other two mainstays of the scientific explanation of socialism, which are also said to be consequences of capitalism itself: the socialization of the process of production and the consciousness of the proletariat. It is this that Bernstein has in mind when he says: "The suppression of the theory of collapse does not in any way deprive socialist doctrine of its power of persuasion. For, examined closely, what are all the factors enumerated by us that make for the suppression or the modification of the former crises? Nothing else, in fact, than the conditions, or even in part the germs, of the socialization of production and exchange." (Ibid. page 554)

Very little reflection is needed to understand that this too is a false conclusion. In what consists the importance of all the phenomena said by Bernstein to be the means of capitalist adaptation—cartels, the credit system, the development of means of communication, the amelioration of the situation of the working class, etc.? Obviously, in that they suppress or, at least, attenuate the internal contradictions of capitalist economy, stopping the development or the aggravation of these contradictions. Thus the suppression of crises can only mean the suppression of the antagonism between production and exchange on the capitalist base. The amelioration of the situation of the working class, or the penetration of certain fractions of the class into the middle layers,



can only signify that there is an attenuation of the antagonism between Capital and Labor. But if the mentioned factors suppress the capitalist contradictions and consequently save the system from ruin, if they enable capitalism to maintain itself—and that is why Bernstein calls them “means of adaptation”—how can cartels, the credit system, trade unions, etc. be at the same time “the conditions and even, in part, the germs” of socialism? Obviously only in the sense that they express most clearly the social character of production.

But by preserving it in its capitalist form, the same factors render, inversely in the same measure, superfluous the transformation of this socialized production into socialist production. That is why they can be the germs or conditions of a socialist order only in a theoretic sense and not in an historic sense. They are phenomena that, in light of our conception of socialism, we know to be related to socialism but which, in fact, not only do not lead to a socialist revolution but render it, on the contrary, superfluous.

There remains one force making for socialism—the class consciousness of the proletariat. But it, too, is in the given case not the simple intellectual reflection of the growing contradictions of capitalism and its approaching decline. It is now no more than an ideal, whose force of persuasion rests only on the perfection attributed to it.

We have here, in brief, the explanation of the socialist program by means of “pure reason.” We have here, to use simpler language, an idealist explanation of socialism. The objective necessity of socialism, the explanation of socialism as the result of the material development of society, falls to the ground.

Revisionist theory is thus put in a dilemma. Either the socialist transformation is, as was admitted up to now, the consequence of the internal contradictions of capitalism. With the growth of capitalism develop its inner contradictions, resulting inevitably, at some point, in one form or other of collapse. In that case the “means of adaptation” are ineffective and the theory of collapse is correct.

Or the “means of adaptation” will really stop the collapse of the capitalist system and consequently render capitalism capable of maintaining itself in life by suppressing the capitalist contradictions. In that case socialism ceases to be an historic necessity. It, then, becomes anything you want to call it but not the result of the material development of society.

The dilemma leads to another. Either revisionism is correct concerning the course of capitalist development, and the socialist transformation of society is only a utopia. Or socialism is not a utopia. Then, the theory of “means of adaptation” is false. That is the question.

*Translated by O. Gormse*

*In the next issue of the “International Review”—Capitalist Power of Adaptation, in which Luxemburg discusses the capitalist functions of Credit, Cartels and Crises, and predicts the condition that began in 1929.*

## THE PROLETARIAT AND CULTURE

• Rosa Luxemburg

*From her review of Karl Gruen's “Die Soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien.”*

In every class society, intellectual culture (science and art) is created by the master class. The aim of this culture is, in part to ensure the direct satisfaction of the needs of the social process, and in part to satisfy the mental needs of the members of the ruling class.

In the history of earlier class struggles, aspiring classes (as recently the Third Estate) could anticipate political dominion by establishing an intellectual dominance. That is, while they were

still subjugated classes, they could set up a new science and a new art opposed to the obsolete culture of the decadent period.

The proletariat is in a different situation. Because it is a non-possessing class, it cannot, in the course of its struggle upwards, spontaneously create a culture of its own as long as it remains in the bounds of bourgeois society. Within that society, and as long as the economic foundations of the latter remain, there can be no other culture than bourgeois culture. Although certain “socialist” professors acclaim the wearing of neckties, the use of cards and the riding of bicycles by proletarians as instances of participation in cultural progress, the working class as such remains outside contemporary culture. In spite of the fact that the workers create with their hands the whole substratum of this culture, they are only admitted to its enjoyment to the extent that such admission is requisite to the satisfactory performance of their function in the economic and social process of capitalist society.

The working class will never be in a position to create a science and an art of its own until it has been fully liberated from its present class position.

The best it can do at present is to safeguard bourgeois culture from the vandalism of reaction, and create the social conditions necessary for a free cultural development. Even along these lines, the workers, within the framework of the present social order, can only move forward in so far as they create for themselves the intellectual weapons needed in their struggle for total emancipation.

But this reservation imposes upon the proletarian class (that is to say, upon the workers' intellectual representatives) decidedly narrow limits in the field of intellectual activity. The domain of their creative energy is confined to one specific section—social science.

### The Confessions of Karl Marx

*These are the answers given by Marx to the questions posed to him by his daughters in a playful moment in 1865. The questions were asked in English.*

What is your favorite virtue?	Simplicity.
Which do you prefer in a man?	Strength.
Which do you prefer in a woman?	Weakness.
Your outstanding characteristic?	Singleness of purpose.
Your idea of happiness?	To struggle.
Your idea of unhappiness?	To give up.
The vice you excuse easiest?	Credulity.
The vice you detest most?	Servility.
Your chief aversion?	Martin Tupper (the Eddie Guest of England about 1860).
Your favorite occupation?	To go book browsing.
Your favorite poets?	Shakespeare, Aeschylus, Goethe.
Your favorite prose writer?	Diderot.
Your favorite heroes?	Spartacus, Kepler.
Your favorite heroine?	Gretchen.
Your favorite flower?	The laurel.
Your favorite color?	Red.
Your favorite name?	Laura, Jenny.
Your favorite dish?	Fish.
Your favorite maxim?	<i>Homo sum, et humani nihil a me alienum puto</i> (Terence's: I am a man, and nothing pertaining to man is alien to me).
Your favorite motto?	<i>De omnibus dubitandum</i> (One must doubt everything).



# PAN-TURANIANISM

(continued from page 20)

finally union and incorporation with Japan. It is the moral and national duty of the Japanese to save their Turanian brothers."

And here is Nodsoe's forecast of the Federation of Turanian Peoples:

"From the Altayan Mountains to the north of the river Enissey: The Great Tungusian-Japanese Empire. Outer and Inner Mongolia and the Province of Tsinkai (Central China) will form the Great Mongolian Republic. From Western Siberia to Finland, including Estonia on the south, will stretch the Finno-Ugrian Tungusian State of Manchukuo. All these States will unite in the great Turanian League, in a mighty Turanian block, in a vast Turanian Union . . . That is a great ideal—a national State created by mutual support and the understanding of racial kinship. And Japan will be the core of this State. Japan will be its leader and loving defender."

We have here a new sort of "Pan-Asiaticism." Nodsoe's conception does not stress expansion to the south but stresses movement to lands lying within the boundaries of the Soviet Union.

Nodsoe writes: "The coming Russo-Japanese War must with one blow complete the process of unification of all Turanian peoples . . . We are firmly convinced of the inevitability of a major conflict with Russia and China . . . It is destined by fate. Viewing this—especially our approaching conflict with Russia—as an accomplished fact, we must concentrate all our attention upon a speedy and all embracing plan of preparedness."

Judging by the last chapter of the book, appropriately entitled "The Policy of Pan-Turanianism," the Japanese General Staff has plans of utilizing Finland in the coming war.

Nodsoe says: "Finland, without the help of Japan, cannot resist Russia. Japan and Finland should conclude an alliance dedicated toward the restoration of the original Turanian land and toward the enrichment of their racial culture . . . Finland seeks the hand of Japan and waits for a Russo-Japanese War. That is what actuated the refusal of Finland to conclude a treaty of non-aggression with the Soviet Union (p. 264)."

The professor speculates on the course of the future war against the U.S.S.R.:

"We should attack Russia from three sides. Japan, Manchuria, Mongolia from the east. Turkey from the south. Finland from the north-east. The Turanian peoples within Russia itself will help to bring the Muscovite to utter collapse."

Having drawn such a convincing picture, the author is not fully convinced. What if Finland and Turkey do not join the Japanese? Nodsoe believes that Japan alone could defeat Russia. However, the help of the "kindred" nations would bring victory in one blow.

Professor Nodsoe speaks with contempt of China:

"Culturally Japan has now nothing to learn from China. In the final analysis that applies also to the realm of economics. In this respect nothing can be done or hoped. The interests of China and Japan are diametrically opposite. What will be the position of China in a Russo-Japanese War? Undoubtedly it will not want to be an ally of Japan."

The well-known General Araki said recently in an interview published in "Tayo Kaidzay Simpo":

"In regards to China, I am a believer in a policy of placid onlooking. Right now everybody is greatly interested in China. But it must be remembered that toward such a country a policy of straight-forward action is not possible."

Nodsoe writes in the conclusion to his book:

"At present the historical mission of the Japanese Isles is ended. We cannot figure on a further development of the islands. We are well aware of the importance and benefits of the islands in so far as the growth of Japanese culture is concerned. But obeying the call of kindred peoples we leave our cradle and return to the Turanian fatherland, to the clean, vast North-Asiatic continent. It is there that we shall grow into a mighty tree stretching upward to the sky."

*Translated by N. Chipchin.*

# BASIC CONCEPTION OF CHINA

(continued from page 8)

aggravated, there is a need for us, the Japanese people, to examine carefully what have been the factors to cause this aggravation. In other words, it is necessary for us to return to our original national policy.

Let us observe the international situation that is changing before our eyes. The progressive change in the international situation may be regarded as a movement against the tyranny and high-handedness of the white people. It may be regarded as the beginning of a racial war for emancipating the colored people, who form the greater part of the human inhabitants of the world, from the enslaving oppression by the whites and realizing equality and peace for all the human beings on earth. It may also be regarded as the beginning of a spiritual war for rectifying the material civilization of the West by the moral civilization of the East.

These two great missions from Heaven are the natural obligations which our Japanese Empire must bear. Japan has already taken the initial step towards the fulfilment of the obligations by assisting the new State of Manchukuo, withdrawing from the League of Nations and abrogating the Washington Naval Treaty.

In order to fulfill the great missions imposed by Heaven, our Japanese Empire must keep herself strong and upright. For, it will be impossible for her to care for others if she herself is weak and her perpetual expansion will be impossible if she does not properly employ the strength she has.

Viewed in this light, it is essential for the attitude of our Empire towards China to be in conformity with her national policy and the missions she has been charged with. In other words, the fundamental principle of the continental policy of our Empire must be to promote her own national expansion and at the same time emancipate the people of the Orient from oppression, give them an easy life and comfortable occupations, respect their independence, and thus promote harmony and co-operation with them, thereby establishing close and indivisible relations, political, economic and military, between her and these people.

When our Empire pursues this policy, she is following the path of justice in the eyes of Heaven, which is true and infallible in all places. This is the firm belief we, the Japanese people, entertain with a clear conscience. We must, in accordance with this belief, make, with intrepidity and valor, straight for the fulfilment of the Imperial Rescript issued by Jimmu-tenno, the first of our august Emperors, by helping our weak neighbours and bringing about real, everlasting peace in the Orient, in fulfilling the lofty missions imposed upon us by Heaven.

It is not too much to say that the success or failure of our efforts for a solution of the outstanding questions relative to China will prove the touchstone of success or failure of our endeavors for the fulfilment of the missions already referred to. The first stone has already been thrown in North China. We must not follow the old tendencies or resort to petty artifices. Instead, we must act fairly and justly, take measures that will convince all, hold aloft the justice of our cause, smash interference and injustice, and thus move ahead as the savior of four hundred million people.

The conception of China, entertained by all those who are, either directly or indirectly, engaged in the fulfilment of the sacred missions, must be corrected and unified so that they may not tread on the wrong path in the execution of the policy of our Empire towards China.

This humble work was born of the ardent wishes the author desires to express for the fulfilment of the lofty missions from Heaven. Let not any one slight this work as a useless argument based on empty theories. Devotion to work is the secret of success.

Needless to say, the policy of our Empire toward China must be based on our national policy which has as its object the main-



tenance of permanent peace in the Orient as well as our lofty missions, which command us to emancipate the people of the Orient who are groaning under the oppression brought to bear upon them by the white race. At the same time, the policy must be aimed at a proper diagnosis of the origin of the disease affecting China and the application of adequate treatment.

That the Chinese people have, for six thousand years past, been merely the objective of the "squeezing" policy of the Chinese statesmen, landlords and plutocrats is well illustrated by the facts on record. The ruling classes were merely absorbed in "squeezing" the masses without any intention of promoting their welfare. On the other hand, the masses had no confidence in the ruling classes and always regarded as a good government any regime under which the authorities did not interfere with their manner of life.

Since the beginning of the Chinese Republic, the Chinese masses have been subjected to "squeezing" by the warlords who never know a limit of greed or avarice and more recently to the increasing exaction by a new type of militarists made up of the Kuomintang faction led by General Chiang Kai-shek and the Chekiang plutocrats. Thus the Chinese masses are now suffering from the trials and tribulations of life. To make matters worse, natural calamities and disturbances by troops and bandits have occurred one after another, with the result that the agricultural districts are now directly heading for ruin. If the farmers do not turn bandits, they will certainly become Communists.

It is by no means going too far to assert that General Chiang Kai-shek and his associates in the Nanking Government are responsible for the greater part of the hardship of the Chinese masses. The policy of the Nanking Government is aimed at nothing internally, except squeezing and destruction, and externally at the attainment of its ends by following the classical Chinese strategem of "bidding up one Power against another", which is equal to digging a grave for itself.

(continued in February issue)

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## WE, FUTURIST POETS AND ARTISTS OF ITALY

• F. T. Marinetti

From "La Stampa", Turino.

**R**ISING against the traditional traducers of modern war who declare it to be anti-esthetic, we futurist poets and artists, who have recognized it for twenty-seven years as the "only world hygiene", proclaim that:

1. War is beautiful because it fuses in harmony Strength and Kindness.

2. War is beautiful because it realizes the perfect mechanized man—thanks to the gas mask, the terrifying megaphone, flame throwers and the little tank, and completes the domination of man over his slave, the machine.

3. War is beautiful because it realizes the long-dreamed of "metalization" of the human body.

4. War is beautiful because it "symphonizes" fusillades, cannonades, pauses choked by silence, and the perfumes and odors of putrefaction.

5. War is beautiful because it completes the beauty of a flowery meadow with the passionate orchids of machine-gun fire.

6. War is beautiful because it genially remoulds terrestrial and marine landscapes with its inspired artillery.

7. War is beautiful because it creates new architectures, as the heavy tank. It creates the flying geometries of the aeroplane, the spiral smoke of burning villages, etc.

8. War is beautiful because it sometimes surpasses in violence, enthusiasm and lyrical grandeur the terrestrial cataclysms and combats of demons and angels.

9. War is beautiful because it definitely cures men of individual fear and collective panic through its refinement and stylization of heroism.

10. War is beautiful because it effects a rejuvenation of the male body and intensifies the fascination of the female body.

11. War is beautiful because it serves the greatness of great Fascist Italy.

Futurist poets and artists, now combatant or about to enter the fray, remember the principles of the esthetics of war. They should enlighten you in your efforts and enable you to extract new poetry and new plastic works from the heroism you offer to the Future!

Translated by O. G.

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